1: Gifford

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798

[For information on warfare between Christian and non-Christian Tongans, see Category 669, pp. 208-225.]

his high position is derived from the Tui Tonga, chiefliness is an attribute which flows from the sovereign, the Tui Tonga. 622 [643]

The chiefs of Tonga collectively are called *houeiki* (*hou*, a collective prefix; *eiki*, chief). According to one informant (Puleti of Nukualofa) the term *houeiki* applies only to the Tamaha, the Tui Tonga, the Tui Pelehake, and the Tui Haa Takalaua, and denotes their celestial origin. (Actually only the first Tui Tonga and the first Tui Pelehake descended from heaven according to mythology, the Tamaha and Tui Haa Takalaua being later developments.) Puleti characterized all other chiefs as "braves" (*toa*) and "chiefs by the hand" (*eiki i he nima*), that is, chiefs who won their rank with the club on the battlefield, a characterization which seems subjective. [773] [643]

The arbitrary powers of chiefs, as described by Cook, Labillardière, Mariner, and others, are no longer exercised. Occasionally a chief horsewhips one of his subjects (I learned of one who whipped two young men who walked past his house smoking cigarettes), but the use of the club has entirely disappeared. 622 178 [689]

The ideal combination for chiefly rank is that both parents be of chiefly blood. The offspring of a chief and a commoner are spoken of as half-chiefs, or, as the Tongans express it, "half-shell" (*ngeesi taha*). A chief may chide a half-chief by saying, "Ah, you half-shell." (The term *vaataha*—one branched—also refers to a person whose parentage is half chief, half commoner.) However, such a person as the son of Jioeli Pangia (who would be Tui Tonga if the office were not abolished) by a wife of low status would be *eiki* because of his father's royal blood. 622 827

The children of a woman of chiefly rank and a commoner also are spoken of as "half-chiefs" although they are regarded more highly than the offspring of a male chief and a female commoner. [554]

The terms *eikimotu, eikitaupotu*, and *eikitoho* refer to a chief of highest rank, literally a chief of chiefs. The term *eikisii* means a petty chief. The term *eikianga* designates the residence and government of a chief.

So far I have been using the term chief in a loose sense, meaning any person with chiefly blood in his veins and not necessarily the holder of a title. The Tongan expression for title is *hingoa fakanofo* (literally, appointment name). I have been at pains to explain that only one person holds a title at a time, and that within a given family no two siblings are identical in rank. This statement of the situation is paralleled by what Mariner says of his four classes of society: *eiki*, matapule, *mua*, and *tua*. This is undoubtedly stating the situation in too ideal a form, but it nevertheless conveys a conception of gradation in rank. 622 622 554 [593]

It seems unlikely that anciently people selected their chiefs, except in so far as a choice was made between eligible candidates. However, the first 622 [798]

Tui Vakano to become a Christian was deprived of his title (*liukava* or *liua,* 622
to debase, to dethrone, to depose) by his outraged constituents—a procedure [798]
which suggests the Samoan practice. There probably were normally no assemblages (*fono*) in which the people expressed opinions. In ancient *fono,* [621]
as in the modern *fono,* the people gathered to hear the orders of the chiefs,
not to debate.

The idea prevails that a chief is normally a large, portly person. On 622
one occasion my interpreter remarked, "Can't you see he is a chief? See 826
how big he is." 142

This observation corroborates Wilson (65, pp. 384, lxix):

> In their persons, the men of the superior rank all seem a larger race than ourselves, or the common people . . . . at Tongataboo more muscular, and affecting a more stately gait and superiority. . . . At Tongataboo some [women] were held in highest reverence, and Futtafaihe himself paid one elderly woman the same expression of homage which he received from every other chieftain.
>
> The submission paid to the chiefs, and the distinction of private property, were much greater here than at Otaheite.
>
> At Tongataboo, the chiefs, to secure plenty, changed their abodes to other islands (65, p. 385).

Chiefs had many prerogatives. Special bathing holes, many of them wells 622
which required many men to dig, were reserved for the chiefs, though 515
occasionally a chief would allow certain of his retainers to use a bathing 312
well. A few wells, far from the establishment of the chiefs, were permitted
to commoners for bathing and drinking water. Should a commoner bathe [565]
in a chief's well on the sly, it was believed that he would become ill and [753]
die either from the swelling of his abdomen or of his neck. Women had [562]
special bathing places set aside for them. On Lifuka, Haapai, the beach
on the lee (western) side of the island was tapu to commoners for bathing.
Five wells—Utulupe, Vailupesia, Hoaheu, Teleki, and Onemato—all the
property and bathing places of former chiefs, have been described elsewhere
(25). It is related that at the well called Hoaheu the bathing chiefs were [541]
entertained by gladiatorial combats in which two commoners with clubs fought
until one was killed. It was at one of these wells, Onemato, that Mariner's
patron, Finau, bathed when on his way to visit his brother Tupouniua.

Of food, the chiefs, of course, had the best. First fruits and the first 622
of each catch of fish were brought to them. The milk of only small, quite 262
ripe coconuts was used by chiefs; a retainer presenting a large coconut was
liable to be knocked down or beaten. On occasions, such food as the hard [252]
Tahitian chestnut (*ifi*) was chewed to a pulp by an attendant before being
given to the chief to eat.

Visitors of low rank brought a gift of kava, which was handed to the 622
chief by his matapule. Failure to bring this gift resulted in a severe repri- 276 431

[1812-1845]

preparation for evacuating, till all were removed from the fort. There was a man called Malafu in the old fort (Kolomotua) of Nukualofa. He was a very good night scout. At midnight he crept to Maufanga to see why there was no longer any shouting. He listened at the fortification fence. There was no one making the slightest noise. Then he jumped over the fence into the enclosure. It was deserted and he climbed back again and walked quietly to the lagoon landing place and swam to Folaha. Here he listened but there was no sound of men. He entered the fort and the pigs stampeded. The people had fled. Then he swam back and reported at Nukualofa that the two forts of Maufanga and Folaha were deserted and that their goods were left. Then the army was told to prepare to go and lie in ambush near Pea. 173 669 726

One day the warriors from Haapai and Vavau were told to lie in ambush on the upper road near Tufumahina, while the Nukualofa army went by the marsh. The Pea and Mua warriors came out of the Pea fortress headed perhaps to Nukualofa and they were preceded by their scouts. If it had not been for that they would have proceeded further forward and none would have escaped. Taufaahau's men rushed forward and fought the Pea warriors and there were killed the brave men who were called by the names Taufaahau, Keiano, Fakatene, and a great many other people. The enemy was chased back to Pea. Moeakiola, the young chief of the fort of Pea, came and stood at the gate of the fort and told all the Pea troops to return and take shelter on the inside of the fortification fence. The shooting continued from Taufaahau's army outside the fence. A shot went through the gate of the fortification and a man was wounded by it and died.

Taufaahau's army returned to Nukualofa and remained quiet. There was no war for some time. Fatu [father of Tungi I] came from Mua and made peace with the Tui Kanokupolu Josiah. Taufaahau and his warriors returned to Haapai and Vavau, each to his own land, and the Tongan warriors remained in Tonga and there was peace for some time. The army at Nukualofa dispersed, each man going to his own district.

Ata's family went and dug a fort at Foui and they dwelt there. But there was not peace between Ata and Vahai and their children on the one hand, and the people that had become Christians and who dwelt at Foui on the other hand, because Ata's people brought their heathenish preparation for their *inasi* feast through the Foui field. The Christians said that it was not yams to eat, but things for their gods. So Vahai was very angry and killed Ahomee. So the fort of Ahomee took up arms and many were killed in that fight of the big fort of the heathens and the little fort of the Christians. 173 669 778 726

A message was again sent to Taufaahau at Haapai, that Tonga was at war again. They were told that he was at Vavau, so they went to Vavau. Taufaahau came with the vessel of Paul Halaevalu that had come from Tonga, and the two vessels sailed for Haapai. On reaching Haapai he told Jioeli and Jiosai and all Lifuka to launch his great war vessel and to follow in her, while he went ahead in the vessel that had come from Tonga. 173 669 726

The great warship was soon in the sea and about two hundred soldiers went on board. They sailed at once. But when they were nearing Nomuka they were not able to bale out the water from the hulls fast enough, so they returned to Haafeva. When they reached there, there was a small sailing vessel belonging to Haafeva, the property of Havealeta. They arranged with the two men that a few should go in the small vessel to the war lest the big vessel might not be able to go. So Kavaefiafi and Kulitapa went in it to Tonga. [501] [716]

It was very stormy and rough at sea, and when they were near Tonumea the sail was torn and it was let down, while a small sail was put up. The big one was mended and they sailed with it to Tonga. They nearly failed to reach Haatafu because it was getting dark when they left Atata behind, but after a while they passed the small reef and on nearing shore they found that they were at the sand banks of Toketeke, so they tacked and headed back to Atata. When they had

[1829-1865]

When the fight at Velata was resumed, Taufaahau's warriors were having breakfast, as Laufilitonga's men made a sortie. Taufaahau's men quit eating, Taufaahau called for his gun. Malupo brought it and asked permission to use it. It was granted. Malupo shot Laufilitonga's son. When he fell, the Tui Tonga's men fled, but they asked where they got the gun and gunpowder. Taufaahau's men replied from the *mato* (edge of precipice), referring to Eua. A well on Lifuka is named Onemato to commemorate this reply. 173 669 726

A tract at south edge of Pangai is called Matuku, meaning "the fight is over," in commemoration of the surrender of Velata to Taufaahau. Velata was a double-walled and double-ditched fortress. [712]

Fakailoatonga was the name of the chief who treacherously speared Taufaahau in the calf during the siege of Velata. Taufaahau was not yet king when this happened. Taufaahau withdrew the spear and killed Fakailoatonga with it. Fakailoatonga was said to be his father's brother. There seems to have been a scouting expedition in which Taufaahau was accosted in a friendly manner by Fakailoatonga of the enemy's camp and then treacherously speared.

At the conclusion of the war Taufaahau put the Tui Tonga and his chiefs in a boat and told them to go and not land again in Tonga, but Kaunanga, the mother of Tungi I, took them ashore at Lapaha.

## TAUFAAHAU AND ULUKALALA VERSUS THE HEATHENS OF VAVAU

In 1829 Taufaahau and Peter Vi, an early convert to Christianity, 797
introduced the Methodist church into Haapai. In 1831 Ulukalala IV
(Finau Tuapasi), the great chief of Vavau, embraced Christianity, be-
coming a convert of the Methodist missionaries at the urging of Taufaahau,
the Tui Haapai. Taufaahau had sailed to Vavau with a fleet of 24 large [716]
double vessels and peaceably induced Ulukalala to embrace Christianity. [501]
Now follows Peter Vi's (3) narrative of events at Vavau, of which he was 173
an eye witness. The siege of the fortress of Otea took place in 1832 and 797
lasted but three days. 798 669

I went to Koloa, Vavau, [in 1831,] and we prepared to sail in the vessel to Haapai. 726 We were only two nights there, when Taufaahau sailed again to Vavau to bring Halaevalu Mataaho. Then Taufaahau arranged with Finau [Ulukalala] for us to have service together on the Sabbath. Taufaahau went and took the kava of the god Taufaitahi to Afu, whose god he was, and they teased him, then burnt the god. Then we went and had our service with Finau. Vavau was in commotion and divided into two parties. Lua dwelt at Feletoa and Ulukalala dwelt at Neiafu and the people were divided between the two. Whoever were Christians went to Ulukalala, whoever were heathens went to Lua, each preparing for war. Taufaahau returned to Haapai, Vavau having accepted Christianity. Finau expected that I would be left with him. But Mr. Thomas [a Methodist missionary] would not let me remain, and after some time Jeremiah Kamoto was sent from Tonga to Vavau, and Taufaahau sailed again for Tonga.

When Tongatabu knew that the Vavauans had accepted Christianity and burnt their gods' houses it prepared for war and Taufaahau's vessel, which was at Tongatabu, prepared to fight. That war did not materialize and Tui Haapai (Taufaahau) returned. A message had been sent from Finau [Ulukalala], saying for Taufaahau to make haste and come to Vavau, as there would be war soon. And we sailed and anchored at Taunga Island, Vavau group, in 1832.

Lua had dug fortifications at Otea on the island of Kapa. Two vessels came, all the crews of which were naked (sign of war) and they asked, "Whose vessels are these?" [291]

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1832]

"Taufaahau from Haapai," was the reply. Then they twirled their clubs and 173
said, 797

"Oh, we thought they were the ships from Fiji." 798

And we sailed on into the anchorage at Neiafutahi, Vavau, and anchored there where 669
Finau was. And we sent to make peace with the Otea fort. Moheofo and Tui Haapai 726
were the peacemakers, and the people (of Otea) destroyed their vessel. The chiefs Luani, Siaakafoa, and Taukeilaolao were sent with them to Neiafu. Taufaahau told Finau not to let these chiefs return, but to hold them. This was done. Taukeilaolao and Teu were brought to us to guard, while the others were taken to Finau to guard. And early next morning we all assembled at Ngaunoho and the army was addressed by Taufaahau. Taufaahau and I jumped on shore while the troops all prepared, stayed in the boats. Taufaahau went and spoke to the army in the presence of Finau, while the Vavau (army) was present. After he had spoken to the army then I said, "Let us pray." After that we went on board the vessel and sailed for Otea. And when we drew near we saw a party of warriors lying in wait on the main road. We raised our guns, but did not fire. We sailed along the shore to their fort. Our vessels anchored and we disembarked our troops. Finau told Taufaahau to go to the fort and ask Lua what were his wishes. And we [Taufaahau and Peter Vi] went and took shelter behind a big tree called *fotulona* and spoke from there and said, "Finau has sent us to tell you, for you to have love and not to be wrongly advised by your sons," and Lua answered,

"Man, why are you so unkind to me? Why don't you come and take me, your father (term of affection), to Haapai?"

And Taufaahau replied, "When did you tell me to? I came and anchored at that island; why did you not send a message for me to come, and take you to Haapai and I would have done so?"

Then Lua answered, "Come here, you unkind man."

Taufaahau replied, "I would like to come, but you might not be able to protect me from your sons, so I will speak to you from here." And we kept on carrying messages between Finau and Lua till it was dark, then we slept; and early in the morning word was brought that fighting had begun on land, as the people from the fort were pushing on the advance lines of the Haapai warriors. And we [Taufaahau and Peter Vi] ran at once there. When we reached there, he said, "If there is any one that wishes to fire, then fire." After that he said, "You go into the fort till Ulukalala and Lua have arranged matters for their friends, and if it cannot be arranged then you young men of the fort come out to us young men and we will fight it out."

Just then a man from Ngutu shouted out, "Yes! Taufaahau kindly tell the Lofanga, the Haafeva, the Kotu, and other warriors to go."

And Taufaahau said, "You say for us to let go, as though this was the first time we had come to Haafuluhao (Vavau). Have we not been here since former times, and taken possession."

Then we went down to Finau and he commanded that we should raise barricades [725]
to starve out the fortress. And we cut down all kinds of trees with which to make the barricade. And we watched each other (the people of the fort and Taufaahau's warriors), and some of the Haapai warriors went scouting and caught Langikaihaa and two warriors. They were not killed, but tied and brought alive, and Taufaahau tried hard to make peace. One day he told us to remain within the fortification, for none to go outside, while he went to a place far away. They were going to call Tavake and Maheuliuli [of the enemy] to come for us to see them; and when they came out we were to come away, as if we thought there would be no war. If they came it was to be done [Tavake and Maheuliuli treacherously seized]. They came and they were told to come with me to our fortification and leave their fort. And when it was known at our fort, and their fort, that they had come, our army rushed into their fort, and pulled down the fort. Taufaahau brought Lua and the chiefs to his own house.

[1832-1834]

Then Taufaahau went to receive instructions from Ulukalala. And Finau said 173
Maheuliuli, Taufaeilaolao, Pomaui, Ngutu, and some others were to die. Taufaahau 797
said, "All right," and he came and told me the command of Finau as to the people 798
who should be executed.

I said, "It is more in keeping with you, that they should not die, as that is the 669
way of the new order of things, and they have been conquered by you two." 727

He replied to me, "Well! speak to Ulukalala, as the troops have come with [178]
weapons to put them to death."

And I sat down in Ulukalala's presence and said, "Finau!" And he turned towards me, and I said, "Pardon me while I speak. It is not in keeping for me to speak to you, but you must forgive me and remember our Lord and also Taufaahau and not let anything come to pass, because of Taufaahau and also yourself. Don't do any murder, as it is bad for Christianity. If it is desirable, let them sail for some other country."

And Finau answered, "All right! You and Taufaahau please yourselves, as you are wise, but how many are the warriors of Maheuliuli?"

Just then Taufaahau came and said to him, "You say to spare their lives. Did they not fight the Haapai warriors and did I not go and bring them like a man servant?"

And after Finau had spoken for some time, Taufaahau said, "I will go and come back with them." And Taufaahau went out and beckoned to some men to go and
bring them. Tavake came and sat on his (Taufaahau's) knees and Maheuliuli rested [516]
against his back and Lausii rested on Maheuliuli's back, while Ngutu squeezed himself under Taufaahau's knees.

While Taufaahau wept for the men, I sat and begged, "It is not in keeping with your profession for them to die, and if they are to die let them die somewhere else, so that we may be clear." And Finau in anger left and went to the beach, but he followed my suggestion, that they should be allowed to sail away. And word was brought that Finau had commanded that the Lofanga vessel should be got ready for Lua and his family to sail in and that the vessel from Leimatua was to be brought for us as it was bigger.

And early in the morning the chiefs went and sat with lowered heads in the presence of Finau, while Finau said to Lua, "Go to any place where you can get together a few warriors." He meant it chiefly for those that should have died, and after that the vessel was got ready by the Vavau people. Taufaahau was the one that was kind and gave them the vessel and the provisions and the chiefs were led down to the sea, and put on board and they sailed and they only knew when at sea, that the ropes were cut off the mast, so they called in at Hunga and mended them and then sailed to Moungaone and anchored there, then left for Tongatabu.

[In 1833 Ulukalala IV died and Taufaahau was appointed Tui Vavau by the chiefs of Vavau, thus carrying out Ulukalala's dying wish.]

### TAUFAAHAU'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST UIHA

Uiha Island, together with Tungua and Nomuka, was one of the last 797
of the Haapai group to accept Christianity. Taufaahau visited Uiha in 798
1833 and sought to introduce Methodism, but the chiefs and people declined to accept it. In 1834 he again visited Uiha and by a stratagem imposed the new religion. When he arrived many of the people were fishing. He professed friendliness and induced 160 of the men to sail to Vavau to obtain pigs for him. By prearrangement these men were made prisoners in Vavau. Deprived of the bulk of her fighting men, Uiha could not resist the destruction of her temples and the imposition of the new religion.

[1834]

## TAUFAAHAU'S WAR CHIEF, HAVILI OF NOMUKA[8]

Havili was a chief and the greatest fighting man in Nomuka. Havili was a 173
heathen first, later a Christian. He was Taufaahau's "general." When Methodism 797
was first brought to the country it was pretty hard for Taufaahau to get the people 798
to be Christians. Havili was called to Tongatabu to aid Taufaahau in suppressing
the heathens. Taufaahau fought the Mua people first and won. Later he fought 669
Nukualofa and won. Then the Mua and Nukualofa people helped Taufaahau to 726
fight against Hihifo. Hihifo was too strong for them, so he (Taufaahau) sent for Havili to come and help him and then they won. After the war Havili returned to Nomuka. Taufaahau had come to Nomuka originally to get Havili and to assemble fighting men from Haapai. The fighting men collected on Taufaahau's ship and were brought to Nomuka where Taufaahau, Havili, and Maafu were waiting. Taifonoifua of Fonoifua was not a chief, but a great fighting man. Falase of Nomuka, was not a chief, but a great fighting man. These two were not matapule, but commoners (*matatangata*). Siulua of Lofanga, was a fighting man, but not a chief or matapule. These were all *matatangata*, men with great strength. The vessel went from Lofanga to Koulo in Lifuka and got Tavalu, another great fighting man who was neither chief nor matapule. These men were to be the *eiki tau* (commanders) of Taufaahau's army and were to command troops. Then the vessel left for Vavau to bring Tuimalohi, a commoner, and Pupunu, a matapule. From each place came one big vessel with the fighting men of the place led by one of the *eiki tau*. They sailed for Nomuka. In six days they all arrived in Nomuka and Taufaahau gave orders to leave next day for Tonga and assemble at Atata Island.

When all arrived there kava was brewed and served. The first bowl was Taufaahau's, 276
but he did not drink it. He merely took hold of it and called out, "Who 574
is the strongest man here, the man who says he will reach the Hihifo fortress of 726
Kolovai first? Let him come forward and take my kava." 173

Then Havili stood up and said, "Give it to me. I'll drink it. I'll be the first 669
man to reach there." As soon as they finished the kava, they sailed straight to Hihifo in spite of the shallowness of the water, went as far as possible, dropped anchor, and the troops (*tangatatau*) marched from there over the tidal flats to the beach.

Vahai was the commander of Hihifo. He ordered his troops to keep a good 173
lookout on the beach, as the Haapai fighters would be sure to land there. The Haapai 797
and Vavau troops rushed in first. The Nomuka troops tarried behind. The Haapai 798
troops did not like the way Taufaahau was depending on Havili and Taifonoifua. 669
The Haapai and Vavau troops were driven back and many killed. Taufaahau was 726
frightened at seeing his troops driven back, so he turned and yelled out for Havili, saying, "Why don't you assist the troops instead of mending sails?" Then Havili stood up, grabbed hold of a big stick called *okooka* and broke it in half, kept one half himself and gave the other half to Taifonoifua. They rushed at two of the enemy and Taifonoifua killed one, while Havili grabbed the other and carried him back to the vessel where Taufaahau was resting. He threw him inside the vessel. Taufaahau was frightened and sat up, saying, "What's the matter there?"

Havili said, "Have you already forgotten the kava that I drank on Atata?" Havili turned away, lifted his tapa garment and rushed at the enemy again. This time he rushed against nine men at a pond near the beach. They hid, but he killed the nine of them. Afterwards he named the pond Hiva (nine). Then Havili went on further until he came right into the midst of the Hihifo soldiers. When he got
there they all dropped their arms (*tafetei*, a spear; *kolo*, club; *mata*, knife of iron- [411]
wood). The Hihifo troops were made to kneel down.

After six days the Haapai and Vavau troops returned home. When Havili and

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[8] Related by Albert Taufa of Nomuka.

Taufaahau arrived in Nomuka a vessel from Lifuka was there with a message for 173
Taufaahau and Havili to prepare, for Lifuka was ready to fight Taufaahau. 797

Taufaahau then asked Havili and Taifonoifua to get ready and go with him to 798
Lifuka. "When you're ready, we'll start," he said. While Taufaahau had been fight- 669
ing in Tonga, the Lifuka people had been digging trenches, preparing for his return.
Velata was the place where the trenches were dug. Taufaahau and his troops sailed 726
north from Nomuka. Three vessels went with troops. Taufaahau, Havili, and Taifonoifua with troops were in one vessel.

Troops only were in the other vessels. When Lifuka was sighted Havili sang out, "Sail the boats right up to the beach." Taufaahau was down below. Havili stood at the bow and yelled out to Taufaahau, asking for orders. Taufaahau was very quiet. Then Havili yelled again, "My wish is not to let any cockroach live, to kill them all." Shortly the vessel went right up on the beach. Havili jumped on to the beach, while Taufaahau was standing in the middle of the vessel looking towards Josiah Lausii's place, the chief of Haapai, his father's brother (*tamai*). He saw many people sitting down with heads bowed. They were asking Lausii to forgive them for what they had prepared. Then Taufaahau saw Lausii walking towards the ship. He came down and shook hands [*sic*]. Lausii told Taufaahau what the trouble was with the people bending over at his place. Lausii also asked Taufaahau to forgive him. Taufaahau told Lausii that Havili and Taifonoifua were determined to kill all the "cockroaches." Taufaahau said, "All right, I'll forgive them, but not again." Then Taufaahau told the Lifuka people that the fortress of Velata was to belong to the Nomuka people.

Shortly after they went to Vavau to accompany the Vavau men home. When they returned to Nomuka they found there had been some fighters from Mua, Tonga, who had slaughtered the people, women and children, and left the same day.

Havili was very much hurt when he discovered what had happened. He said to Taufaahau, "I'm going to Tonga to pay them back for what they have done. I won't go just now. I'll wait until the wind goes around to the south, so they won't be looking for me." When the wind swung to the south he started off. He arrived at night with Taifonoifua. They went ashore with troops. The people of Lapaha
in Mua did not expect him. They were having a game of *lafo* (played with coconut [524]
shells). In the middle of the house was a woman making kava. Havili and Taifonoifua were pleased to have arrived there in time to slaughter them. Havili had connection with that woman. Havili and Taifonoifua had told their men to stop outside. The two went in quietly and sat down amongst the men. No notice was taken of them for they thought that they were Lapaha men. The woman making kava turned around and looked at Havili. As soon as she saw his face she yelled, "We are going to be slaughtered. Havili and Taifonoifua are here." The people received a shock and looked around, but it was too late. As soon as Havili realized he was known, he and Taifonoifua were punching them down with their fists as fast as they could. There were thirty men and one woman. They killed all but one man who was wounded. Those who went out were killed by the troops. The woman was spared. Soon after, that same night, Havili and Taifonoifua sailed for Nomuka with a fair wind. They arrived safely.

Two days later they left again for Tonga to attack the Mua people again. When they sighted Tonga it was getting dark. It was about eight o'clock when they approached the land sufficiently to see lights. They could see several lights on the
eastern end of Velitoa. Four men and four women were fishing. They were Mua [226]
people torch-fishing. The Nomuka vessel anchored outside the reef. Havili said to Taifonoifua, "You stay aboard, while I go to learn who these people are." He landed on the beach and walked up to see who they were. He went quietly and hid beside a tree. The party were cooking fish now.

While they were cooking fish one of the men said, "Hurry, get those fish cooked or else Havili might come and take them from us." At the same time Havili was

[Ata Island]

582

98-99: Man to father's mother's brother's son's daughter.
102-103: Man to father's mother's brother's son's daughter.
104-105: Man to mother's father's paternal half brother's daughter.
109-110: Man to mother's paternal half sister's son's daughter's daughter.
125-127: Man to father's sister's daughter.
134-135: Man to mother's brother's daughter.
165-166: Man to father's mother's sister's daughter's daughter.

In addition to the following marriages of blood relatives which the genealogy shows, there is one case of a man (14) marrying his stepmother (7) and one case of a man (13) marrying two sisters (12 and 16). Of the twenty-six marriages of relatives nine are of cross-cousins. Seven of the cross-cousin marriages are of a man to his father's sister's daughter, two to his mother's brother's daughter. There is one example of parallel cousin marriage (70-71).

The institution of the *vasu* evidently held with as much force in Ata as 604
in Tonga proper, for informants said that of the two persons, Laufilitonga 593
(mentioned above) and his sister Takumua, that Takumua was superior in 605
rank and that her children were superior to those of her brother Laufilitonga. [184]
In fact, Laufilitonga's children had continually to go into the bush and secure food for the children of Takumua. Even to-day the descendants of Takumua rank higher than the descendants of Laufilitonga.

There were three gods recognized on Ata, two of them apparently from 184
early times, one of them from about the middle of the nineteenth century. 776
Faikavakisia, a male deity, had a sanctuary in the eastern part of the village [778]
of Kolomaile. The priest of the god is said to have borne the same name. [793]
Tui Tofua, presumably the well known Haapai god, had a sanctuary in the [778]
southern part of the town of Kolomaile. His priest was also known by the
name of Tui Tofua. It seems likely that the introduction of the worship [793]
of this god may be attributed to Tameifuna, the Haapai colonist. From the present holder of the title of Leha, carpenter to the Tui Tonga, I obtained the following account of the arrival of the third god, Moalaleki, in Ata.

> Moalaleki was the god of the village and fortress of Pea, Tongatabu. In the year [776]
> 1852 the god became angry because the cup of kava of a warrior named Sialevailea was
> given to another warrior. Thereupon, the god deserted Pea and went at once to
> Ata, taking with him a root (*ulo*) of kava. With the departure of the god from [669]
> Pea, misfortune fell upon the town, for that very day the Tui Kanokupolu George I [798]
> laid siege to it with his Methodist army.
>
> When the god arrived in Ata he found the chiefs assembled inside a house wishing that they had kava to drink (kava was already grown in the island). Suddenly the god dropped the kava root from the roof of the house to the floor. Thereupon the chiefs said to one another, "We wish we had more kava. This is only a small quantity; too small to make a drink for us all." Then the god said from above, "It is small, but it is strong (*latea*)," expressing the idea in poetry as follows: [539]

| | |
|---|---|
| Oku sii pe ka oe latea | It is small but it is strong |
| Koe kava na'e o Pea | The kava was formerly of Pea |
| Koe ha'u mei pe kolo tautea | It has come from the punished town. |

## TUI TOFUA

I have given (26, p. 77) a number of tales about the god of Tofua 776
Island, reputed to have been a chief's son who committed suicide by drowning and who was transformed into a huge man-eating shark. The father of Tui Tofua was named Vakafuhu (possibly the Tui Tonga Vakafuhu), and his tomb is said to be located on Tofua Island. It is of stone and very smooth and flat, rather different from a langi or royal tomb. The name of Tui Tofua's mother was Langitaetaea. The term Tui Tofua is not a title, but a personal name applied only to the individual who became a shark god. The title of the ruler of Tofua is Taufa Tofua.

## DEITIES OF TONGATABU ISLAND

Collocott (9) has dealt so thoroughly with the deities of the Tongatabu [128]
Islands that I can hope to add only comments and minor details. I have already discussed Tui Haa Fakafanua and Taufa.

According to one informant, the god Taliaitupou, as well as the god Pulotu [821]
Katoa, was capable of stopping a hurricane if beseeched. If the people went to the house of Taliaitupou to secure cessation of a hurricane, upon returning
to their homes the hurricane would be over. Collocott (op. cit. p. 230) 776
states that one sacred object of Taliaitupou was a large black volcanic pebble. 778
As there is another deity, namely, Fakafumaka or Vakafuhu, whose first name refers to a stone, it seems not impossible to me that the volcanic pebble referred to may be the sacred object of Fakafumaka rather than of Taliaitupou. The stone, which I saw at the Methodist headquarters in Nukualofa, is called Tui Ahau. A companion stone lies at Kolovai in Tongatabu and gives us an example of animatism among the Tongans, inasmuch as it is
considered capable of bringing forth small pebbles. That white coral pebbles [823]
and black volcanic pebbles buried together will increase, is firmly believed by Tongans to-day.

The local deity of Nukualofa is said to have been a goddess named Popua. 776
She was reputed to be endowed with poor legs and it is said in consequence [826]
Nukualofa people have poor legs. When the first missionary ship was off [797]
the island of Malinoa near Tongatabu, Popua informed the Tongans that she had come to them because of her affection, but that the white man's god that was coming in the ship was stronger than the native gods, all of whom had retired to Ata Island (north of Tongatabu), whither she too was going.

The god Vaiuka, who had his seat at Niutoua, manifested himself through the matapule priest Leha (op. cit. p. 233). Pulotu Katoa, a god who comes in for considerable notice from Collocott (op. cit. p. 162), seems to have been
a very important deity in Tongatabu. According to Watkin (61), this god [821]
caused storms because of his displeasure over the introduction of Christianity. [798]

[Lifuka Island]

South of the mound Lefelefevalu is a stone called Anganganiofae, which 776
is said to be natural in formation but which looks like a fish having the head 773
of a stingray (*fai*) and the tail of a shark (*anga*). 823

## DEITIES OF LIFUKA ISLAND

Aloalo seems to have been an important Haapai god with his sanctuary 776
on the tract Fanganonu in Pangai, Lifuka Island. He seems to have been 778
especially a weather god and was also consulted concerning future events. [821]

The temple of the god was a Tongan house, one end of which was screened off with
cane (*kaho*). The god was represented by a whale's tooth (*lei*) which was kept in
this compartment covered by a fine mat (*kie*). "He stayed alone like a king and no
one was with him." People who came to consult the god waited outside the house.
They brought with them presents of food which they left in the anteroom of the house 776
just within the entrance, but away from the compartment where the god dwelt. Food 778
that was left by departing visitors would be found to have entirely disappeared upon 782
their return and this was true even if the food was a hundred pound pig.

If people planned to voyage from Haapai to Tongatabu they brought food to Aloalo 776
and inquired as to the most propitious time for setting sail. The god would tell them 787
whether they should leave immediately or later, in order to enjoy good weather all of 484
the way. He might also instruct the voyagers as to the most propitious time to return [782]
from Tongatabu. If they failed to regard his instructions they were likely to meet
with mishap.

The "boat" of the god was the white tern (*tala*). When people went shark fishing 776
they followed the god's bird so they might be led to a good fishing ground. The bird 825
of the god seems to have been a captive white tern with a string tied to its foot. Today 226
the white tern is still used as an indicator of good fishing grounds.

The god manifested himself by causing the whale's tooth to move or shake. How- 776
ever, prior to the shaking, a yellow butterfly, appearing at the front door of the god's 825
house, indicated that the deity would shortly appear in the whale's tooth. The appear-
ance of the yellow butterfly was to inform the priest of the god's impending visit. The [782]
people in general were apprised and would come to pray on such an occasion, particu-
larly those people who had illness. It is said that the butterfly was not the god himself,
but merely the messenger of the god.

Aloalo not only predicted the weather but he could also govern it, for example, 776
being able to stop excessive rains when prayed to do so by the people. Aloalo's priest 821
was called Vavanga (literally "to know everything"). He served as intermediary be-
tween the supplicants and the god. After the appearance of the yellow butterfly and [793]
the movements of the whale's tooth the god entered the priest, who would be convulsed [787]
by trembling. While in this state he delivered the message of the god to the people.
The priest when inspired was seated, not reclining. The district in which the tract
of the god was located was called Ahau, a name which refers to the ruling chief.

The daughter's son of the last priest Vavanga was living at the site in 793
1920, and my informant was himself the son's son of Vavanga. There was 115
another sanctuary of Aloalo near the northern end of Lifuka Island at the 778
village of Holopeka.

Aloalo went the same way as the rest of the Haapai gods when Taufaahau 776
set out to destroy them. The priest of the god fled, however, so that he 797
escaped the fate of other priests and priestesses who were put to death by 798
793
Taufaahau.

## THE ADVENT OF CHRISTIANITY

Thomson (54, pp. 200-203) has well portrayed the situation in Tonga 797
during the period of the conversion to Christianity. As he points out, [622]
resistance to the spread of Christianity came not from the heathen priests
but from the chiefs, who apparently realized that Christianity struck at
the root of their time-honored privileges.

I shall not attempt to trace the spread of Christianity but shall merely [128]
refer to certain interesting incidents in connection with its introduction—incidents which to some extent reflect the religious attitude of the Tongans.

As far back as the fifteenth century there is traditional record of skepticism as to the power of the gods. 771
I refer to the tradition concerning the Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I, who cried, "The gods are fools!" when he was wounded in battle. Mariner dwells upon the skepticism and irreligion of his patron Ulukalala II, who even went so far as to order the priest of his god strangled, but who was prevented from having the execution carried out by his own sudden death, an event which no doubt restored the prestige of the gods in the minds of many Tongans.

Stories are current that certain of the old gods gave oracles concerning 776
the advent of Christianity and the destruction of the old order. At Pea, 787
Tongatabu, it is related that the house of one god miraculously disappeared 797
overnight, because the deity was provoked over the coming of the new religion.

The narrative of Peter Vi (3) refers particularly to the part taken by 797
Taufaahau (afterwards King George I) in the destruction of the heathen 798
places of worship. That he was actuated entirely by Christian motives 669
seems unlikely. In any event, murders and wholesale slaughters of the
heathen were indulged in in the name of Christianity. The fortresses of [727]
Ngeleia and Hule were captured and their inhabitants slaughtered (pp. 215, 216). The events related below refer to the period just before and just after 1830. Taufaahau was then the Tui Haapai. He had not yet succeeded to the rule of Vavau, or to the rule of Tongatabu. About 1829 the following event took place:

> It was said that Taufa, the Tui Nomuka, was coming to Malupo (of Uiha Island) to get reeds for making spears for Tuita and Lolohea. Taufaahau was to be held while they killed the Christians. Taufaahau was informed of this on the day of the feast of the gods called Tautaulotufonua. The feast was held at the gates of the fortress and boxing and wrestling games, etc., were held. [The killing of the Christians was prevented.]
>
> There were many priests and god houses at Haapai, and Taufaahau said to Peter Vi and some others, "Let us go to the priestess of the god house at Holopeka." When we arrived there we found that she had gone to Faleloa. As we went along the road the king rooted up a big banana plant and carried it along. Peter Vi asked: "What is that for?"
>
> Taufaahau replied, "Something to hit the god with."

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[ca. 1830]

And Peter Vi said, "It might kill her; then we will have a bad reputation." Then 797
the king cut the head off the banana plant and we went on to the place. The priestess 798
was frightened, as though she had her suspicions. 669

Taufaahau said to her, "Don't let this scented flower cause the lad (god) pain." The old woman came near and began to shake and get very red. We had arranged to cut a big banana leaf for making the drinking cup, so that the old woman should have a long drink and bend her head far back. When the banana leaf cup was nearly empty, the king was to give her a big blow. It was done while she had her head turned back to empty the cup. The blow landed on her jaw and she fell over dead. The name of the god, and of the priestess also, was Haehaetahi.

Taufaahau persevered in his treatment of the sacred things of the gods at Haapai: the clubs, the kava bowls, and the whales' teeth. The god houses that would burn were burnt, and the things that could be cut were cut, and the things that could be smashed were smashed.

Taufaahau said one day to Peter Vi, "Come and we will go for a walk in the 797
country." We went, and there were standing the sea gods called Tuutuumata, Kahi- 798
tanga, Sausau, and Hafuli. There were many gods and we covered them up and took them to Velata [in Lifuka Island], where a sugar-cane grew, on which was hanging a sea god. Taufaahau brought it and made fire of that which was hanging on the sugar-cane stick and into the flames he put the gods which he had brought. Then we left and went to Pangai [in Lifuka Island], and went to the seashore to have a bath, and there were some sticks for making houses lying there in the sea, and we undid them and swam with them to the ocean. Then he called all the names of the ferocious and mischievous gods of the sea and he sang a chant with their names: "Oh, Taufaitahi (Sea-squall)! Oh, Filimamo-haehaetahi (Fish-that-tears-or-cuts-the-sea)!" He kept repeating the call. And he got tired of calling the sharks (these are names given to the shark-god) which were very ferocious at this place.

One day we went to Haano and the vessel was sailing along, when suddenly a big shark came near in the part of the sea called Olovaha. Taufaahau raised his iron spear and said, "If it is the god Taufaitahi then the spear will not hit him, and if it is only a shark then we will get him." He threw the spear and missed. Then he came and threw Paul Tapu into the sea, also Peter Vi. We swam then to Fakakakai to bring his spear, but the vessel had gone on to Haano. We got a girdle of banana leaves to put on, then we went to Haa Ngana, and met Taufaahau who was returning from the kava ring as we got there. He laughed and said, "I thought that the sea god had eaten you."

After the entertainment at Haapai, Taufaahau [of Haapai] and Ulukalala [of Vavau] arranged that they should each build a boat for a race, and in the year 1831 Taufaahau sailed to Vavau and a fleet of fourteen vessels went with him, and Peter Vi went and took with him a letter from the missionary. The fleet anchored first at Falevai and service was held there. The sabbath was spent there and then we sailed for Koloa and anchored and that was the day that the entertainment of the races was held. I went in the evening to Ulukalala with a present and a letter from the missionary and I read the letter to him. A woman entered whose name was Tukuau, and she gave a great shout at the door, saying: "It is lies, O King." Ulukalala gave me a piece of native cloth, and I departed.

After I had given Ulukalala my advice about becoming a Christian, his face was still smiling, as though he was in a good temper. When Palepau came, Ulukalala said to him, "Why, it is laughable what this man says. He says that the gods whom we serve are not real."

I thought that the matapule would be angry. But he said to Ulukalala, "Who is that man?" and he replied,

"It is Peter Vi," and he asked:

"And what do you think? Has there ever been any wisdom in our land that has been received from the priests of the gods? No, because whoever was a fool went

[ca. 1830]

and became a priest of the gods." Just then a report was brought that Fakailoatonga 797
was dying, and I still gave Ulukalala advice. 798

When it was afternoon I told him, "I will go now to the sea, while you get ready your night dance," and he replied,

"All right."

And that night while the dance was being held Fakailoatonga died, and his body was taken to Makave. The next morning Taufaahau called me: "Come Peter, and we will go to the chief's funeral at Makave." And we went. After the funeral of the chief we went to plait baskets for carrying the sand to the grave.

The Vavauans embraced Christianity with great fervor. In 1835, there 797
was an outburst at Haakoka, Vavau; the people, becoming frenzied with 786
religious fervor, ran amuck. Many persons were killed. 579

Undoubtedly the Tongans of to-day are among the most devout of Chris- 795
tians, having accepted Christianity with a very full faith. The following 771
quotation from a manuscript by Mrs. Rachel Tonga, a devout Methodist, is typical of the faith which they hold. After describing the ancient belief as to the Water of Life called Vaiola, Mrs. Tonga proceeds: "But it is all nonsense. The only healing water is the blood of Jesus. Whoever believes in him will be healed. Whatever may be our sins, if we believe in his blood we will become healed."

## HISTORICAL CONCLUSION

In this conclusion no attempt is made to summarize the contents of this 175
work. The probable periods of Tongan history are set forth below in 105
tabular form. It seems to me that four periods are distinguishable. The first is a pre-dynastic period before the coming to the throne of the dynasty of Tui Tonga, which terminated in 1865. The second period, which I have called the classic period, for during this period Tongan culture developed distinctive features, is further characterized by the expansion of the Tongan dominions. The third period is one marked by the decline and disintegration of the Tui Tonga's power. The fourth period is one of renaissance and European acculturation, with the Tui Kanokupolu supreme. The earlier dates given in the tabulation are only approximate.

I. Predynastic Period (before 950 A. D.; possibly beginning about 500 A. D.).
    Shell heaps probably the only cultural remains, though these continue to be formed down to our day.
    No legends that can be definitely connected.
    Shadowy reference to displacement of early rulers by Ahoeitu about 950 A. D.
II. Classic Period (950-1450).
    Tui Tonga I (Ahoeitu)—23 (Takalaua).
    Ahoeitu (1): Of divine origin.
    Tuitatui (11): Fijian and Samoan contacts prominent.
    Takalaua (23): Assassinated about 1450.
    Achievements of period: (a) Subjugation of Samoa, etc.; colonies probably established in Ellice, Tikopia, etc. (b) Development, or appearance, of great terraced stone tombs. (c) Trilithon erected.

771 they probably represent not so much significant differences
795 in the pursuit of spiritual truths but rather symbolic
standards which served in the past and still serve today in the life of the village as catalytic agents in the obscure struggles of unusual personalities to secure expression in their conflicts with group-interests.

794 Church membership in Pangai is shown in the following
795 table:

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TABLE 14.—CHURCH MEMBERSHIP IN PANGAI.

| Church | Membership<br>Men | <br>Women | <br>Boys[31] | <br>Girls | Total | Per cent. village membership | Per cent. kingdom membership (Census 1931) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga | 25 | 32 | 27 | 23 | 107 | 41 | 58 |
| Free Church of Tonga | 24 | 12 | 21 | 16 | 73 | 28 | 16 |
| Church of Tonga | 6 | 4 | 7 | 7 | 24 | 9 | 10 |
| Roman Catholic Church | 14 | 12 | 15 | 16 | 57 | 22 | 12 |
| Other Churches[32] | — | — | — | — | — | — | 4 |
| Totals | 69 | 60 | 70 | 62 | 261 | 100 | 100 |

797 That the Tongans have really believed in their religion
795 in the sense of taking some doctrinal differences seriously,
however, is shown by a brief glance at the religious history of the kingdom. The mission of the Wesleyan church was begun in 1822 and again in 1826. The mission of the Roman
797 Catholic church began in 1842. Doctrinal differences
between these two missions and between the missions and the
798 still pagan Tongans, were inextricably mixed in the early
795 wars of Tonga, particularly in the war of 1852 when the
669 scattered islands were being united into one kingdom. The
Tongan history-books stress the fact that this war was fought purely for political reasons and that religion had no part in it (as if politics and religion can be separated as neatly in the lives of men as they can by words on a printed page!). It is significant, however, that the king's army was composed mostly of Wesleyans while one of the strongholds this army

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[31] Boys and girls, according to the classification of the church rolls, include those under the age of about sixteen years.

[32] "Other churches," of which there are none in Pangai, include the Church of England, the Church of the Latter Day Saints, and the Seventh Day Adventists. These three churches had a total kingdom membership in 1931 of 1,271 people.

attacked was the centre of the Catholic mission-work. And 797
it is also significant that after the war was concluded, 798
Napoleon III insisted on a treaty with the kingdom (1855) 795
in which the kingdom guaranteed freedom of religion and 669
agreed that any who had been banished or robbed of their
land because of religion should be allowed peaceably to return
to their lands again. The king objected that none had been
banished for this reason, but this clause remained in the
Treaty despite the objection. Thereafter Protestant and 795
Catholic remained and have remained at peace within the 798
kingdom, ostensibly at peace that is, because talk with
Protestant pastors that is turned to doctrinal subjects will
today, sooner or later, bring to the fore complaints about
the manner in which the Catholic church, for instance, is
alleged to recruit new members from among the Protestants
by alleged unethical methods. These complaints are probably
of significance not because of what they allege but because
they show that the Tongan takes his religion sufficiently
seriously to be worried intensely by doctrinal differences.

Differences within Wesleyan Christianity itself are a 795
further story. Shirley Baker, premier of the kingdom, a (645)
man of autocratic mind, and his king, Tubou I, in 1885
decided to form a new church, the Free Wesleyan Church of
Tonga. This action resulted in a split within the Wesleyan
church of the day because some Wesleyans did not wish to
join the new church. These Wesleyans were persecuted.
There was disorder, robbery, violence, and banishment of the
dissenters, finally banishment of Baker himself (1890). The
net result was two forms of Wesleyan Christianity. In 1924 (643)
the queen conceived the idea of bringing about a united
church. She tried to reunite the Free Wesleyan church to
the Wesleyan church to form the Free Church of Tonga.
But again a minority decided to be different and members
of the Free Wesleyan church who objected to the union
formed a separate church which they called the Church of
Tonga. Thus there have come into being three groups of
Wesleyans. The villager seems to align himself with one
or other of these three or with the Roman Catholics according
to vagaries which become explicit only when he thinks of
changing affiliation.

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become strong enough to result in social disorganization and disintegration.

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Changing from one Protestant church to another is also made easy by the fact that the one who changes does not lose any religious status in the process. If he is a lay-preacher in one church, he is welcomed as a lay-preacher into the other church. He does not have to start from the lowest rung of the congregational ladder and then work himself up to a position of higher social status in the new congregation. In this way the person who changes is able to satisfy personal conflicts on the one hand and preserve his village religious status on the other hand and at the same time.

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From none of the Protestant villagers was it possible to obtain any clear idea of theological differences between the Wesleyan churches. Villagers simply take for granted the fact of the three sects. Only some of the more enquiring bother their heads about why and wherefore. Few of the Protestants, however, do not at one time or another worry about the existence of the Roman Catholics. This is shown by little things: when two Catholic boys went to jail for stealing melons, there was a sort of, "What can you expect but this?" look on Protestant faces; Biukala makes the habit of teasing and often angering Roman Catholic boys by making a parody of crossing himself whenever he sees them, or else trying to imitate the sounds and words of Catholics saying the Catechism; Kali takes the church medal that Ana wears round her neck, holds it up for all to see, then makes a few derogatory comments about idol-worship and makes as if to tear the medal from Ana's neck—those standing by approve of Kali's joking while Ana flounces angrily away. These little things are typical and indicate underlying antagonism. They are summed up by the opinion that is typical also of the Protestant villager: the Catholic becomes a good person by remembering long prayers—the Protestant must strive for goodness by a never-ending attempt to receive Christ into his heart and soul. The validity of this opinion is not at issue. It is given simply because it is the way in which the villager thinks about a problem that probably worries him more than he will admit.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

in resisting his most reasonable demands, he ought to set 797
up a Wesleyan Church of his own, a national Church, 795
ruled by the same laws as those that governed other 643
Methodist churches. He even persuaded his successor in
the chairmanship of the district, a Mr Watkin, to betray
his trust and secede with him. When all was ready, he
telegraphed to the Australian Conference, then sitting,
warning them to accept the king's terms, or suffer the
consequences. He was probably aware, when he sent
this telegram, that there was no time for the receipt
of a favourable reply before the date he had fixed in
his ultimatum, but he had, he considered, cleared his
own character, and he now proceeded to make his *coup-d'état.*

So the new Church was set up, and in a few weeks it 795
had been embraced by a majority of the people and of the
native ministers, who joined the new Church "out of
their love for Tubou" and received higher salaries for
their loyalty to their sovereign. The king's influence 798
was enormous, but Mr Baker had slightly overrated it; 797
for, in spite of all persuasions and threats, a very respectable 795
minority were left who flatly refused to turn,
not probably for conscientious motives,—for the tenets of
the two Churches were exactly the same,—but because
they disliked Mr Baker and were attached to the Wesleyan
missionary, and also because their natural obstinacy
and dislike of being "hustled" came to their
support. He had now to face the Wesleyans, armed
with very good grounds for complaint, and, to save himself
from losing ground, he had recourse to persecution,
petty at first, but descending later to rather gross out-

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

798 rages. Unfortunately for the Wesleyan cause, these
797 outrages were much exaggerated by well-meaning but
795 inaccurate friends, so that people grew sceptical as to
the truth of any of them.

798 Being now in the zenith of his power, in the enviable
797 position of a ruler who is his own treasurer and auditor
and also controls the law courts, he became, as men of his
stamp always do become, a petty tyrant, without the tact
or temper to control the disaffection he created. A dangerous
feeling against him began to develop itself among
the chiefs, and instead of conciliating them, as a shrewder
man would have done, he trusted everything to his
ascendancy over the king, and treated chiefs and
798 commoners alike as his inferiors in virtue of his office. In
797 1886 four prisoners, undergoing imprisonment for petty
682 offences, escaped from jail, and hid for months among
[681] the caves at the back of the island, living upon such food
[697] as the sympathy of the people procured for them under
cover of night. On the night of January 5, 1887, they
lay in wait for Mr Baker as he drove home in the dusk
with his son and daughter. They fired, but the shot
missed its mark, breaking the boy's arm as he ran to stop
them, and wounding the girl as she tried to screen her
father. The horse, not less terrified than its driver, bolted,
leaving the two wounded children on the ground, nor
could it be stopped until it had carried its master to a
place of safety. It was a savage crime, but the revenge
[694] taken for it was scarcely behind it in savagery. There
were wholesale arrests: there was a trial in the presence
of the native Chief Justice, a native jury, and Mr Baker;
but as the public was not admitted to the court, and the

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

few Europeans present were ignorant of Tongan, we have 798
only native accounts of the proceedings to rely upon. 797
Several men were condemned to death, including the 682
actual perpetrators of the crime, and four, one of whom [694]
was more than probably innocent, were taken to Malinoa [696]
island and summarily shot. Others would have followed [648]
had not the Europeans interfered and threatened Mr Baker personally, and during the delay thus secured H.M.S. Diamond arrived with the High Commissioner, Sir Charles Mitchell, from Fiji.

Mr Baker had affected from the first to regard the 798
attack upon him as a conspiracy of the Wesleyans, and 797
sought to connect the missionary, and even the English Vice-Consul, with the crime. It was an opportunity for
wiping out the remnant of the Wesleyan Church. On the 798
pretence that there was an insurrection against the king's 578
authority in Tongatabu, he summoned the men of Haapai 669
and Vavau to come and restore order. They came with all the savage ruffianism in them aroused by the remembrance that Tongatabu was their ancient enemy. Armed, and with blackened faces, they spread over the country, plundering the houses of the Wesleyans, flogging and insulting all who refused to join the Free Church. The 798
remnant of those who still held out, some two hundred 688
souls, were huddled on board two small schooners, and 167
shipped off to Fiji. They were thus thrust destitute upon the Government of that colony, which was put to no small inconvenience and expense in providing for them. Eventually they were settled on the fertile island of Koro, dissatisfied, and in continual disagreement with their
Fijian neighbours. It was their sudden arrival that [648]

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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798 caused the High Commissioner to visit Tonga. The ex-
688 haustive judicial inquiry which he held furnished ample
167 grounds for the removal of Mr Baker under the Order in
648 Council which empowers the High Commissioner to remove
797 648 any British subject who, in his opinion, is dangerous to the
645 peace and good order of the island in which he is living. But since Mr Baker, in fact, constituted in himself the Tongan Government, it was not clear that his removal would not be followed by anarchy; and as the king undertook to put a stop to the persecution of the Wesleyans, and to adopt certain other reforms, Sir Charles Mitchell preferred allowing them to be effected through Mr Baker's agency to incurring the risk of the chaos that might result from his removal. The ship of war therefore sailed for Fiji, taking with her the rest of the prisoners lying under sentence of death.

645 Now Mr Baker had expected to be removed, and he
797 attributed this leniency to a different motive. He argued,
798 doubtless, that if the High Commissioner had failed to
[648] remove him after the wholesale persecution of the Wesleyans and other illegalities, it was because he was afraid to do so, and that he was not likely to take extreme action against him for any lesser cause. So long, therefore, as he restrained himself within certain limits, he might continue his former policy without let or hindrance. The king, who had so often been his scapegoat, could be made to bear the sole blame of breaking the promises made to Sir Charles Mitchell. So the promises were not fulfilled, and things went on very much as before, except that the annoyances to which the Wesleyans were subjected were a little less flagrant. Not content with having escaped

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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retribution, he wanted to celebrate his triumph to the 797
world. He was living in the king's palace, and to some 798
extent at the king's expense. His crippled children were 645
drawing pensions from the Treasury. It was time to settle with his enemies—such, at least, as had not been shot or exiled to Fiji. He called a shorthand writer, and dictated in Tongan a report of the attack on him, which he persisted in calling "the assassination," writing with gross disrespect of the High Commissioner, and accusing the British Vice-Consul, since deceased, of having furnished the musket with which the crime was committed. This document was thereupon taken to the native Chief of Police to be signed as his report to the king, for by this means did Mr Baker innocently suppose that he would protect himself from the penalties for the libels of which he was the author. It was then translated, and published as a Blue-book headed "Private and Confidential," probably with the view of protecting the Auckland printers.

But this time he had gone too far. The High Commissioner at once called upon him to retract the libels or take the consequences, and he apologised in the most abject manner; but, when it came to publishing a refutation of the libel, difficulties arose. The Chief of Police flatly refused to sign it, and when at last he was induced to present it to the king, his Majesty threw it on the ground, declaring that he had been made a fool of. But it was printed all the same, "By his Majesty's command."

The Tongans were beginning to have quite enough of 797
Mr Baker, who lived most of his time in Auckland devis- 645
ing obnoxious laws, travelling backwards and forwards at

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He now wanted to remove his account-books, which 645
were, he said, his private property; but the writing was
the writing of Otto Lahnstein, who was paid with Government
money, and the books had been paid for from the
same funds. So he took his last view of the scene of his
labours, and withdrew protesting. His son, who had been
his Private Secretary, gazed with pride at the havoc of the
clerk's office, and remarked to Smart, "Well, at any rate
you fellows can't say that we haven't done a lot of work
here."

A day or two later the king visited the Rapid in his 643
State barge, and the High Commissioner paid an informal 648
visit to him the same afternoon. He found him attended
by thirty or forty chiefs in the ordinary native dress, a
sure sign that they felt at ease. After a warm greeting
the conversation turned upon Tongan affairs. Sir John
expressed a hope that all petty oppression and persecution
would now cease, and that the people would be allowed
to return to their normal state of quietude. The king
replied that he felt sure that a time of peace had arrived.
The opportunity for testing the sincerity of his promises 648
had come, and the High Commissioner decided to ask him 643
to do that which Mr Baker had persisted in declaring he 798
would never do—namely, to allow those exiled to Fiji for 688
their religious views to return. He referred to the chiefs
present who had relations among them—to Fatafehi,
Governor of Haapai, whose mother, Charlotte, the king's
daughter, was among the exiles, though past sixty years
of age. The king was visibly affected, and said, "I never
sent them away: I did not want them to go. Let them
come back. They were driven away. Bring them back

648 to their friends." After a short silence the High Com-
643 missioner said, "Will you also release the people at Tofua
798 and other places who have been deprived of their liberty
688 for years past, in some cases for no other reason than that
they attended prayers at the house of a Wesleyan missionary; others who have been unjustly convicted by illegal sentences being passed upon them; and others who are in confinement upon the personal order of Mr Baker, after being duly discharged by a judge of the Tongan Supreme Court?" The king answered, "Why go on? This is a day of joy. I do not want them to be imprisoned. Let us rejoice at what has happened, and
648 let all prisoners be set free." The High Commissioner
643 explained that he had not asked for the release of
697 prisoners properly convicted of offences against the law,
and that the wholesale liberation of such people might be inconvenient; but, nevertheless, every convict who had more than twelve months of his sentence to serve was turned loose upon society.

648 The king then invited his guests to drink kava in
643 another part of the house, and seated the High Commis-
276 sioner near himself. He asked more than once whether
there was anything more that he wished done, and begged him to help his Government to keep clear of the disturbances and embarrassments into which they had been led by Mr Baker. Then one of the chiefs seated near the bowl cried out, "We, too, have something to ask. We want to break up this kava-party, that we may go out into
648 the roads and cry the good news to all the people." There
643 was a shout of applause, and the High Commissioner
shook hands with the king and took leave. Except the

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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made a number of yet unfulfilled contracts, for which 645 his successors would be liable; and the new Cabinet, competent though they were to conduct kava-bowl diplomacy, were filled with an unconcealed awe of the mysteries of office-work. "Was the High Commissioner," they asked, 645 "going to leave them to themselves before their path was 648 clear?" They were not afraid of Tongans, "but what about the white men? Could he send no one to help them for a time?" Sir John Thurston was prepared for the request. It was clear that they must have help without involving the Imperial Government in any direct responsibilities on their account. He told them that if the king made a formal request to him he would send them an officer not altogether unknown to them; but that if he came they must follow his advice, and he must have a seat in the Privy Council.

There being nothing more to do, the Rapid sailed for 648 the northern groups of Haapai and Vavau, touching at each place, and telling the people the good news of the "Jikota's"[1] fall, and of the return of the exiles. In [798] Vavau they received it with mixed feelings, for, while they hated Mr Baker, they could not forget that the exiles were Wesleyans, and Vavau is staunch Free Church.

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[1] Mr Baker had a number of nicknames—such as Kingfisher (Jikota), [551] Empty Bottle, &c. The jikota of Tonga is an irrepressibly active and pugnacious bird, and Mr Baker seemed to be proud of the comparison. Of some of his other *sobriquets* he had less reason to be proud.

failed, I alone must take the blame. The blame of failing 648
in such a service would probably dog me for the rest of
my official career.

On the other hand, I might have the luck to succeed, and the experience was certain to be amusing. On the whole it seemed worth the risk. The High Commissioner was still telling me his proposals when my mind was made up.

The plans were soon arranged. I was to go to Tonga in the steamer chartered to take back the Wesleyan exiles. I was not to be hampered by a detailed letter of instructions, but, furnished with a mere outline of the policy to be pursued, I was to present myself to the king, and thereafter be left with a free hand, to be guided by circumstances as to my future course.

Meanwhile the exiles had been sent for from the island 798
of Koro, and on their arrival they were assembled to hear 167
from the High Commissioner the steps that were to be
taken on their behalf. They were, he said, to go back to
their homes after three years of exile, which they had
borne with praiseworthy fortitude. They were not sent [643]
back by the British Government: they were invited to [648]
return by their own king, to whom alone they owed
allegiance. They were not to think that because they had 798
been exiled for wishing to continue in their Church, this 795
invitation implied that their Church had triumphed. If
they adopted a triumphant attitude in Tonga, or tried to
push forward the cause of their Church, disturbances
would be quite certain to follow, and they would be in a
worse plight than before. Any such conduct on their 798
part would be a poor return to the British Government 167
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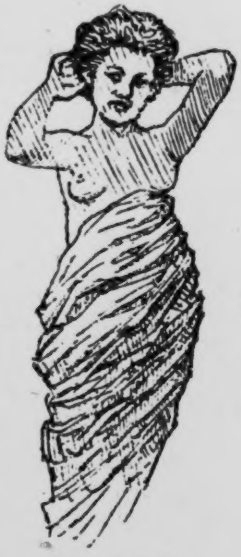
798 167 648 who had befriended them, and whose one desire was to see Tonga at peace. They were especially to understand that the late events had come about from a true desire to help the king, and not from any ulterior object of extending British influence. Foolish things were often said in Tonga, and the most foolish of all was that England wished to take the country for her own. Victoria was not a "stealing Queen," and wanted no country that belonged to others. She and her officers were now, as ever, ready to endorse the proverb, "*Tonga maa Tonga*" (Tonga for the Tongans), and it was their duty, whenever they heard this foolish statement made, to contradict it.

Then William Maealiuaki replied on behalf of the exiles. He began with a long and very wearisome list of the presents given to them by the Fijian chiefs, and finished with a flowery oration of thanks. Charlotte, the king's daughter, an old woman of past sixty, had called upon Lady Thurston with her women, and had presented an immense roll of native cloth, which, she explained, had been brought to Fiji to serve as her shroud, but since God had allowed her to see her native country again and would let her die there, she wished to leave the shroud behind her.

798 167 On August 16th the steamer Pukaki hauled into the wharf to receive her passengers. Counting children, the exiles numbered more than 120 souls. It was a curious scene. Half the population of Suva had assembled to see them off, including the High Commissioner and the Government officials, and the wharf was crowded. [152] Their native friends were weeping demonstratively, and the Tongans themselves were in a state of high emotion. The steamer,

dressed with all her signal flags, cast off amid deafening 798 cheers from the shore party, and as she swung out into the 167 stream she fired a salute. As the echoes of the last shot [533] died away, the voices of the exiles were heard singing "Home, Sweet Home," in their own language, taking well-sustained parts; and they continued singing until we passed through the white line of reef-breakers, and the figures on shore had melted away in a cloud of white draperies. We had cast off our nationality, and were now Tongans.



*One of the Exiles.*

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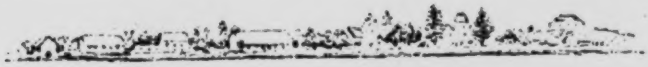
Our fellow-passengers spent their first day at sea in holding religious services, and in fussing about their luggage. These exiles for conscience' sake had already reaped the reward of their constancy—an earthly reward in the form of mats, native cloth, kava-bowls, and all things that are most precious to the native heart. They numbered more than 120, and had left their homes almost naked. They went back with eighty tons of luggage—far more than they could possibly have accumulated in three years had they remained in their own country. Persecution had not been unprofitable.

A grey fuzzy line just above the horizon, gradually resolving itself into cocoanut-palms—such was our first sight of Tongatabu. We steamed along the south-east [133] coast, the Liku, watching the surf spout up in a hundred

798 geysers as each heavy sea forced the water into the cave-
167 like tunnels in the reef; between the main island and
[133] picturesque Eua; through an intricate channel among the
reef islets, until some houses showed white against the thick mass of palms. This was Nukualofa. In the sunlight every colour was intense—the blue of the sea, the white of the foam and coral-sand, and the green of the vegetation.

[361]



*Nukualofa.*

From the moment
[152] when the first land was sighted the exiles began to show
signs of anxiety, which increased with every throb of
798 the propeller. They got out mats from their bundles,
167 presumably in order to land neatly dressed; but, to our
292 surprise, we saw that the outer mat petticoats they
576 were putting on were impossibly dirty and ragged. Not ragged enough, however, to satisfy their critical taste, for as we neared the shore they began nervously to tear and unravel the edges of these filthy garments, stopping at times to inspect their progress towards disreputability. We had yet to learn that a Tongan expresses humility, repentance, and respect for dignities by the raggedness of his attire. The High Commissioner's advice regarding their demeanour on arrival had not been lost upon them.

798 We were boarded by the Collector of Customs and the
167 Vice-Consul, and while we were still talking to them, two
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excited missionaries dashed up the ladder and fell upon 798
their flock. It was a demonstration that might well have 167
been spared, for the wharf was now filling with people, [797]
and it was the interest of the mission, as well as of the
exiles, that they should return as the king's subjects, and
not as members of a Church of which he disapproved.
Meanwhile the chief men among the exiles, William
Macaliuaki and Matealona, landed to report themselves
to Tukuaho, the Premier, and we pulled to the wharf
and landed among the crowd of sight-seers. I tried in [152]
vain to detect any enthusiasm, but, with the exception of
the near relations of the exiles, who could be distinguished
from the others by their eager questioning of the native
crew of our boat, the people, who numbered perhaps 150,
seemed to have come from mere motives of curiosity.
Mrs S., the daughter of one of the missionaries, explained
the absence of demonstration by saying that we had been
expected on the previous Sunday, when large numbers
had awaited our arrival; but this explanation scarcely
accounted for the absence of the townspeople, who had
had fully two hours' notice of the arrival of the steamer.
The people assembled were scarcely more than would have
come to see the arrival of the ordinary monthly steamer.
Mrs S. went on to say that affairs were less satisfactory
than had been hoped. The king had gone away to Haapai 643
to finish the building of a church. There had been a free 578
fight between the lads of the Government and the Wes- [798]
leyan colleges. The Collector of Customs had had a differ- [645]
ence with the Premier about a copra contract, and, to the
great inconvenience of the public, had closed the Customs
office for a whole day as a protest. Moreover, "certain

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578 persons" had been endeavouring to set my native colleagues against me, and they were so demoralised by the
turn affairs had taken that they talked freely of resignation.
[651] There were, in short, rumours of wars everywhere,
and not a shilling had been taken as taxes since the High
651 Commissioner left a month before. A little later I heard
439 the other side of the story, which was that an enterprising
436 copra-trader had persuaded the native Premier to proclaim
that the Government would accept copra in lieu of money for taxes, and to sell the copra thus obtained to him at a fixed rate; and Tukuaho, being new to the business, had been easily persuaded that the offer was disinterested, and had acted upon it, to the great indignation of the rival traders and the detriment of the Government, as will be explained hereafter.

But the worst news of all, although the least unexpected,
793 was that the Free Church ministers were up in arms.
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795 They felt, naturally enough, that in Mr Baker they had
[797] lost a powerful champion, and that the Government was
no longer to use its machinery for the annoyance of their adversaries, the Wesleyans. The return of the exiles was a triumph for the minority, for among them were the only persons of rank who remained faithful to the old Church.
[797] Mr Baker was their prophet and their *defensor fidei*, who
alone could keep alive the spirit of enthusiasm, and insure the punctual payment of their salaries from the annual
[618] mission collections. Naturally enough, therefore, they
"talked *lotu*" from their pulpits—that is to say, they vilified the rival sect, and hinted that the removal of Mr Baker was but the preface to the seizure of the country by
186 Great Britain. Now every Tongan is hysterically patri-
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## III.

### THE SHIP OF STATE AND HER CREW.

645 My first business was to see my colleague, George
Tukuaho, who had sent to say that he was confined to
[212] his house with a bad headache. On my last visit to
Tonga, four years before, he was just recovering from a
serious illness; and though I had seen much of his father,
Tungi, I had only conversed once with Tukuaho, and then
only upon such general subjects as the comparison of the
military genius of Julius Cæsar and the first Napoleon,
whose lives I had found him reading in his own language.
644 He was then commandant of the king's Guards, who
numbered twenty men, and in that capacity he had had
the shrewdness to outwit Mr Baker, then all-powerful.
645 It had suggested itself to the Premier's fertile brain that
744 military service might be turned to account against the
798 stiff-necked Wesleyans, and he had accordingly compelled
a number of the College boys to enlist in the militia.
They were first required to take the oath, but this they
refused to do, unless they were told to what they were
[687] going to bind themselves. A refusal to take the oath
being at that time in the nature of sedition, they were

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charged with that offence before the police court; but 644
Kubu, the new Minister of Police, who was then Police 645

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*George Tukuaho.*

Magistrate, was not a creature of Mr Baker, and dismissed the case. This would not do at all, and Mr Baker

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644 ordered them to be tried by court-martial. How a man
645 who has not yet enlisted can be tried by court-martial
798 was a technicality that did not trouble him. He sent an
687 order to Tukuaho to form a court, but Tukuaho replied that he would like to have the order in writing. Mr Baker committed the order to paper. The court sat, and the men were found guilty of refusing to take the oath with their eyes shut. A messenger was despatched to Mr Baker to inquire what sentence was to be pronounced. The verbal answer was, "Two years." But Tukuaho wanted to have this in writing too, and Mr Baker, grumbling at his pertinacity, wrote the order on a half sheet of note-paper. All this showed no very high degree of intelligence on the part of the commandant; but the surprising incident was that he carefully preserved both letters, feeling that some day they might be
[648] useful. Many months later the High Commissioner, Sir C. Mitchell, held the inquiry before alluded to, and Mr Baker was examined as to the reason for the monstrous sentence inflicted on these men. He knew, he said, nothing whatever about it; indeed he thought it severe himself, but, being inflicted by a court-martial, he had no power to interfere. Then Tukuaho was asked why he had pronounced such a sentence for no offence at all, and he said that he would not have passed such a sentence without written orders. Could he produce these orders? He thought he could, and went to fetch them. The Premier's face meanwhile had been undergoing a change; he was evidently feeling very uncomfortable. When the letters were produced, he said that he had quite forgotten having written them, but that they now refreshed his

memory, and he glanced at Tukuaho in a very peculiar 644
way. 645

Soon after this Tukuaho was relieved of his command, 798
and made mayor of his father's town, Mua, some twelve 687
miles from the capital. He had occasion to see the 645
Premier upon matters connected with his duties. The 622
great man was busily writing in his office. After waiting many minutes Tukuaho rose to go, saying that he saw the Premier was engaged. "Sit where you are," replied Mr Baker, "until I am ready,"—and he wrote on as if the safety of the nation depended on his pen. At last he stopped writing, and swung round in his chair. Tukuaho had heard from others of this mode of inspiring awe, and was in nowise disconcerted; he returned the First Minister's fixed gaze. "We are alone: tell me what cause for ill-will you have against me." Tukuaho raised his eyebrows with a mild surprise, and intimated that he did not understand the question, but had come to ask when he was to distribute tax-allotments in Mua. "You know well enough what I mean. Why did you betray me?" said the Premier, coming to the point. "I have much love for you," answered Tukuaho, "and I want you to tell me about Fifita's allotment." From that day Tukuaho was a marked man, but one to be conciliated rather than threatened.

I found him in his new house still unfinished. A *ngatu* 645
screen was suspended across the room, behind which a [353]
mosquito-net was visible. A lamp stood upon a trade [352]
box, and the corner of the room was piled high with official-looking papers and torn envelopes in hopeless confusion. I made a mental note of an admonition to be [521]

651 wards most disastrous results, and led to a lawsuit which, though amusing enough in the facts it brought to light, wasted seventeen days of valuable time. I felt bound to compromise the matter in the most advantageous manner possible, and to content myself by making the trader sign a bond which left the Government quite free as to the amount of copra they delivered, and allowed them to receive money for taxes after January 1, four months hence. I had many times to curse Tukuaho's naïveté and good-nature when I saw taxpayers turned away from the tax-office windows with money in their hands, and carts full of copra passing the Government sheds on the way to the traders', while the Treasury safes were nearly empty.

609 During the next few days it was clear enough that, friendly as my colleagues were, the people did not care to
563 conceal their distrust. This was easily explained. The white traders as a body were quiet, law-abiding men, but there was the usual proportion of malcontents who are "agin any Guv'ment." If these people must have a Government, they infinitely prefer a purely native one, which allows them opportunities unattainable when a countryman of their own is at the head of affairs. Some of these, fearing that my presence would upset their pet schemes of abolition of the poll-tax on Europeans and the Customs dues, had been telling the natives that I had been sent to
[186] Tonga to smooth the way for annexation. This is the one
[829] story that every Tongan will believe, even though a white man has told it to him, and I knew that it would take
793 months of hard work to live it down. The Free Church
798 ministers, moreover, had not been idle, and their per-
645

sistent misrepresentation of me as a champion of the 793 798
Wesleyans had contributed to the popular suspicion. The 645
manners of the average Tongan to a white man whom he 609
dislikes and does not fear leave much to be desired. I 576
found myself jostled off the road by men on horseback,
and subjected to many other petty annoyances. All this 645
had to be borne good-temperedly if my mission was to 609
be successful; and I knew that in a few months I could
succeed in changing the hostility and suspicion into
friendliness.

My first task was to inspire the chiefs with confidence: 645
the people would follow their lead all in good time. As 622
soon, therefore, as we were installed in our new house, I
invited Fatafehi, the king's grandson, to visit me. This 644
chief enjoys a far higher degree of rank than his relation- 622
ship to the sovereign would confer upon him, for he is a 554
chief of the spiritual line; and now that the office of Tui 643
Tonga has been abolished, and Christianity has removed
the superstition by which the descendant of the Immor-
tals was surrounded, he enjoys the highest consideration
in the kingdom after the king. To him alone, besides the [195]
king, is used the peculiar language of respect by which
the deity is addressed. Of the curious polity of Tonga [128]
before the introduction of Christianity I shall speak here-
after.

Although hedged by divinity, Fatafehi bears his honours 644
with great ease and good-humour. He has a jolly round 622
face, fringed with grizzled whiskers and moustache; and his kindly expression and burly figure give him the appearance of a gentleman farmer when times were good. He is, moreover, almost the only Tongan who, in dress clothes,

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644 looks like a gentleman. We had been good friends during
622 my former visit, while his wife Fujipala was still alive.
[493] When they dined with me on that occasion, they drove up
[291] in an antiquated buggy, with a Hindustani coachman from
Fiji, he in dress clothes, and she in mauve satin, bonnet
and boots included, attended by four maids of honour, as
befits a king's granddaughter who weighs seventeen stone.
Poor Fuji! her good sense and influence are badly wanted
now. Her son, Taufaahau, deprived of her control, was
running wild, and since he was generally regarded as the
heir to the king, it was imperative that Fatafehi should
[645] bring him under some sort of discipline. It was partly to
[793] urge this upon him that I had invited him to visit me,
[798] and partly because he had never shown animus against the
Wesleyans; and I wished him, as Governor of Haapai, to
endeavour to check the disaffection which the speeches
622 of the Free Church ministers were creating. When he
644 arrived, Vaea, a chief among the returned exiles, was
576 drinking tea. He had just taken a cup in one hand and a
784 piece of bread-and-butter in the other when the great man
264 was announced. "Who?" asked Vaea, not catching the
name. "Tui Belehake," I answered, giving his title; and
as I spoke the *portière* was flung aside and Fatafehi strode
in heartily. When I looked round Vaea had disappeared
from his chair, and was squatting in the corner with depending
lower jaw and eyes fixed vacantly on the ceiling.
I spoke to him once or twice, trying to include him in the
conversation, but he did not seem to hear. The only sign
of life about him was the trembling of the teacup in his
palsied hand. Suddenly he got up, and having no free
hand to move the curtain, he plunged at it head-foremost,

644 upon Fatafehi's hereditary laugh, the more since I found
522 it useful when debates in the House were stormy, and the opposition had to be silenced.

798 I was anxious to learn from Fatafehi what reception
795 the exiles had really had, for rumours were most con-
571 flicting. From his account it appeared that while they
167 had received no welcome from the people at large, this had been unnoticed in the presents that had been showered upon them by their immediate relations and friends irrespective of Church. They were housed in a large disused building called the "Women's College," until such time as they could make arrangements for moving to their old homes, or the mission should appoint such of them as were native ministers to vacant parishes.
798 They had not forgotten the hospitality shown to them in
795 Fiji, for late in the afternoon G——, who was alone in the
576 house, saw a long train of men and women approaching with bales on their shoulders, evidently bent on perpetrating a ceremony. Now one cannot express gratitude with any accuracy in dumb-show, and the servants were therefore despatched in hot haste for an interpreter. Fortunately kind Mrs S. arrived just in time to save the situation, and reply to the set speech in which we received vicariously the gratitude due to the Government of Fiji.
[431] It took the practical shape of a pony, several live pigs, rolls of *ngatu*, mats, combs, and the inevitable kava. Like all native presents, they had eventually to be paid for in return gifts of an equal or higher value.

645 Our new house adjoined the Government College, being in reality the house of the English principal when such
877 an officer existed. The undergraduates were a continuous
873

114 177 659 dent" was past reform, I promised to provide them with a monthly letter. To the 'Star' I wrote that we were thinking of dividing our printing if we could find a friendly firm to undertake a portion of it, but that the inimical tone of their paper had hitherto prevented us from doing so. If, however, they would adopt an impartial attitude, I should be glad to meet them half-way by supplying regular news. Thenceforth I became "Our own Correspondent" to both papers, and wrote by each mail two separate letters, alike only in their colourless stolidity, in which neither favour nor ill-will to the Government of Tonga shocked the eye, and the printing was divided. This arrangement was not made too soon, for the wordy effusions of the disappointed schoolmaster, had they appeared in print, would have created a panic among our creditors.

795 798 The impartiality of the Government in sectarian disputes had had the effect of allaying to some extent the bitter feeling between the rival Churches. But the Wesleyans still suffered disabilities, and were far from satisfied. The *abi*, or plantations of the ministers, confiscated during the disturbances, had not yet been given back to them, and indeed could not be restored without injustice to the present occupants, who were given possession in good faith by the late Government. The Free Church ministers still had possession of a quantity of timber, some windows, and a church bell, bought with the mission funds, and refused to give them up, on the ground that they were paid for with the subscriptions of the Wesleyans who have since turned to the Free Church. No doubt the property was vested in the trustees of the Wesleyan Church, but I urged forbearance, for every day of harmony was a gain

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to the Wesleyan cause worth far more than the value of 795
the trumpery church property said to be unlawfully 798
detained. So long as the Rev. George Brown remained in 795
Tonga as the head of the mission the Wesleyans showed 798
the most admirable self-restraint. They bore their disa- 797
bilities with good temper, and did not run the risk of irritating the susceptibilities of the Free Church ministers by attempting to regain any of their lost ground. But he was the General Secretary of Missions, and could not continue to stay in Tonga now that his Church was no longer in imminent danger of extinction. As soon as his restraining influence was withdrawn, and Mr C—— became the head of the mission, there was a change. He was an amateur lawyer, whose natural turn for hair-splitting polemics had been sharpened by much bandying of words with Tongan magistrates during the Reign of Terror. In an evil hour he came to Nukualofa, and with his brother-in-arms began to plan cutting-out expeditions into the enemy's country. They held the fallacious belief that the people were only deterred by fear of the king from returning to the bosom of their old Church, and that since a period of toleration had been proclaimed they might safely hold services again in the villages that they had lost. It chanced that an old woman from Havelu had lately been reconverted, and she, questioned as to the spiritual attitude of her fellow-villagers, declared that they were only waiting for a favourable opportunity to follow her example. Mr C—— consulted the impetuous Kubu, who told him that there would be no danger in holding services again in Havelu, and upon the following Sunday a chosen band of native teachers rode thither,

795 and reopened the long-disused church with a thanksgiving
798 service. In the evening the Free Church held a
797 *bolotu*, and in the excitement of that inebriating act of
worship vowed that they would not again suffer their
village to be desecrated by the hosannas of the *Fakaongo*.
795 Each speaker surpassed the last, until nine fanatics rushed
798 out of the church for their axes and fell upon the Wesleyan
797 church, hacking at the tie-beams until the roof fell
685 in with a crash. The news reached Nukualofa very late
on the Sunday night, and before daylight the nine men
of action had been haled to the police station, and thrown
into the dark cells. Then the fiery Kubu, having had
time for reflection, came to me for advice. I called at
the mission-house and tried to point a moral. The
reverend gentlemen were not a little aghast at the (to
them) unexpected result of applying a match to dry
gunpowder, and were as anxious as I to repair the damage
they had done. The men had been arrested for rioting.
They could not be kept in jail, but it would not be politic
to let them out without trial. On the other hand, if they
were severely punished there would be a new outbreak of
[696] indignation against the *Fakaongo*. I suggested that they
should be brought before a magistrate that afternoon, and
that Mr C—— should attend to beg them off on condition
that they rebuilt the church. He seemed to feel quite a
glow of Christian forbearance in anticipation of the lustre
that so politic an act would shed upon him. An intimation
of the stage arrangements was conveyed to the magistrate.
The culprits — the only actors in the scene who
had not learned their parts—had been so calmed by nine
hours in the dark cells that they were ready to promise

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anything, and the magnanimity of the Wesleyans in 795
begging them off was not without its effect. A disagreeable 798
crisis was thus averted, but the incident did 797
considerable damage to the cause of the mission. 685

Church matters were not going smoothly at Vavau. 795
The mayor of a small village took the opportunity of the 798
change of Government to turn Wesleyan, and Manase, the 634
Governor, immediately dismissed him. The right of dismissal [645]
of Civil servants, including mayors, is vested only [647]
in the Premier, and therefore Manase was obviously exceeding
his powers; but being a bigoted Free Churchman,
without sufficient brains to see that the Church had now
to learn to stand alone without bolstering from the State,
he did not stop to think of legality. If Manase's action
had been one of intolerance only, I do not think that we
should have interfered, for the coveted end of sectarian
peace would have been better served by the patient endurance
of all present injuries for the sake of allaying the
natural irritation of the Free Churchmen at the change
in their circumstances; but Manase had wilfully broken
the law, and this could not be passed over. Tukuaho [645]
wrote to order him to reinstate the mayor: Manase took
no notice of the letter. To a stronger command he replied
that "it was not his wish that any *Fakaongo* should hold
office," and therefore he could not reinstate him. This [643]
was a declaration of war, but the king only had power to
dismiss a governor, and he was at Vavau at the time, and
more likely to listen to Manase than to his Ministry.
News from the distant islands of Niuafoou and Niuatobutabu 795
was equally disquieting. No sooner had Kubu and 798
Sateki set sail than Tuia of the former and the powerful

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795 Maatu of the latter island began simultaneously to intimidate
798 the Wesleyans. "Mr Baker might be gone," they
said, "but the church that Tubou set up was still standing,
and they, as his deputies, would allow no other within
his dominions. As for what Kubu said about toleration,
that was a lie. Tubou had not changed." Maatu was
reported to have reached Vavau about the time that
Manase had declared his defiance of the Ministry, and it
seemed not improbable that their false representation to
the king would land us in still deeper embarrassments.
643 It was clear that at all hazards we must get hold of the
645 king, or, if we could not persuade him to come to the
capital, take it in turns to shepherd him at Vavau. We
decided to first send Tukuaho and his father Tungi, on the
understanding that they would call at Haapai and persuade
Fatafehi to accompany them, since he had the
greatest influence with the king. At the last moment
Tungi, who is too old for any diplomacy that involves
physical exertion, withdrew—as every one had prophesied
—and Tukuaho sailed on the 16th of October, undertaking
to return in eight days with or without the king.

652 Two months had now elapsed since my arrival, and,
but for the Customs dues, we were still existing upon
credit. To retain the wavering loyalty of our Civil servants
we had paid them a month's salary, and had given
a public assurance that the arrears due to them by our
predecessors would be dealt with by Parliament. With
the remnant of our slender balance we had paid a quarter
of our liabilities to merchants in New Zealand and Sydney
—some £1500—so as to restore our credit abroad, but we
had now to depend solely upon the arrears of the poll-tax

ember. The Free Church had taken this opportunity for 651
holding their annual collections in Vavau, and the people, [794]
having sold all their available copra to get money for the church, had none left from which we could draw for the benefit of the contractor. With this news came stories [795]
of persecution in the Niuas. The Wesleyans were again [798]
being persecuted, and it was rumoured that the people had formed a league to pay no taxes. We held a Cabinet 645
meeting, and resolved that the four principal members of the Cabinet, Tukuaho, Fatafehi, Kubu, and myself, should make a tour through the islands as far as Niua. The mail-steamer was to drop us at Niua on her way to the north, and a schooner was to be sent from Vavau to bring us back. But at Vavau the state of affairs was so unsatisfactory that it was decided to leave me behind to settle matters with the copra-contractor.

At the moment of entering the landlocked channel 181
to the harbour one passes into a different atmosphere. The mood of the people of Tongatabu and Haapai matches their flat shores. They cover their restlessness with a crust of reserve even as the honeycomb of water-caves is hidden by plains and palm-groves: but in this land of orange-trees and wild precipices lives a different race. There is an unquiet activity about them, a vivacity of manner, a use of gesture to illustrate speech never seen among their cousins of the southern islands. The air, heavy with the scent of orange-blossom, is yet full of impulse. The men stride down to the wharf to meet the steamer, not ashamed to show that they have curiosity: the girls assemble in groups on the grassy road to chaff new-comers with an easy familiarity more respect-

563 should make them hold their hand until he neglected my
441 warning, and offended again.

689 One of our first acts on landing had been to pay our
634 official visit to the Governor, who had disobeyed and
645 defied us. One always forms a clear mental picture of a
798 person whose acts and utterances are familiar, and the
picture is generally ill-drawn. I had imagined this truculent Free Churchman as a self-sufficient middle-aged

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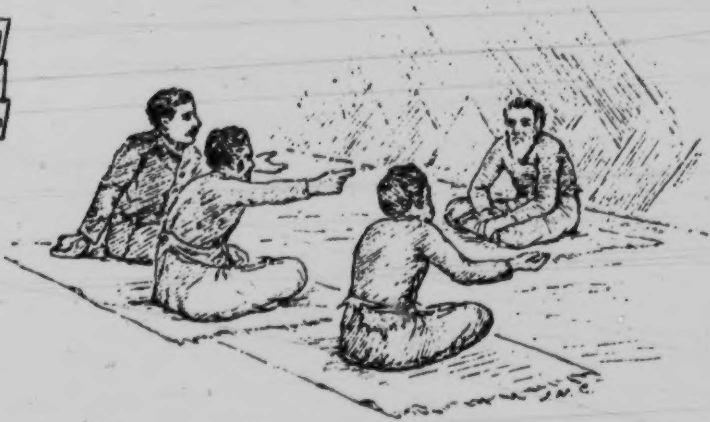

"Manase took it all in silence."

Tongan of the blatant kind: I found him a mild-mannered old gentleman, endowed with an apostolic saintliness of feature and expression that must have disarmed my colleagues had they not known their man so well.
[551] Manase was a chief of the third rank in Vavau, who owed his elevation to his zeal in persecuting the Wesleyans and his willingness to second Mr Baker in questionable transactions. Hitherto I had supposed him to have some

strength of character, if only in refusing to swing to the 634
change of wind, but during this interview I realised that 645
his steady opposition to us was due solely to crass and 798
unimaginative stupidity. He was, in fact, quite incapable of realising that the old order had changed. We sat in a circle on the floor of his house and made conversation while the kava was brewed, and then, when the bowl had been removed, and we were so far alone that his household and their friends only formed a wall of ears on the other side of the reed-partition, Tukuaho and Fatafehi spoke their minds. Manase took it all in silence with furrowed brow and meek eyes, as who should say, "This too I forgive for the Gospel's sake!" As we left the house Tukuaho said that Manase would take his lesson to heart. I thought otherwise, and in this instance I was right.

Until the king's reign, as I have related elsewhere, the 565
nobles of Vavau have always held a somewhat independent 643
position. The Finau Ulukalala, the chiefs of the principal family, have, so long as history recalls them, been men of strong personal character and individuality. They seem to have acknowledged the Tui Kanakubolu as their suzerain from inclination rather than from necessity. To a 565
Finau of the eighteenth century we owe Captain Cook's hospitable reception in Tonga—a hospitality that would have resulted in his massacre at Maofanga instead of in Hawaii but for a fortunate accident. To another was due the great revolution of 1799, and all the stirring times that succeeded it. His strong individuality, so wonderfully painted by an eye-witness, called forth from a Quarterly Reviewer of the day a comparison between him and the heroes of Greek tragedy. Another, Tuabaji, after re-

651 piece paid into their treasury should be spent in their
634 island—the very self-same coins, not changelings from
Tongatabu. Therefore, though the law enjoined them, on
receipt of instructions from the Minister of Finance, to
remit their money to Nukualofa, even in the zenith of
Mr Baker's power they habitually disregarded such orders,
until the Premier himself, accompanied by a Cabinet
Minister or two, had to come and remove the money
under escort, amid the outspoken murmurs of the whole
island. As soon as the clerks had spread the news of
my intention, all sorts of obstacles sprang into existence.
There were no bags to put the money in! It could not
be counted in time! It was safer in Vavau than in
Nukualofa! The king did not wish the money to go!
643 The king's sanction was not in the least necessary; but
651 as I always preferred to take the least thorny path to my
634 object, I called upon his Majesty to ask his permission, as
798 well as to obtain the royal pardon for Tevita Finau, one
687 of the religious exiles who still lay under sentence of
penal servitude for church offences. I found the king in
the back verandah of the tumble-down Palace, apparently
alone; but a glance at the rickety kitchen, that stood
within earshot, told me that the building was packed with
the gossips of Vavau assembled to take notes of our
interview.

"Is not this a time for forgiveness?" the king said, in reply to my formal request for a pardon for Finau. "Sign the papers in my name." To my second demand he said, "Let them talk. Take the money. Is not Vavau the land of foolish talking?"

645 But I wanted more than this. Manase had to learn a

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published sources of information, I may be acquitted of 797 a wish to detract from a really great work if I submit them to the tests from which even sacred history is no longer exempt.

The principal facts, as related by the missionaries, are these. With the conversion of the higher chiefs Christianity spread with a rapidity that proved the direct interposition of Providence. Five years later there re- 797 mained but a minority inspired by the evil one to resist 798 the truth. Not content to remain heathen, they took up arms in the cause of Antichrist, and even made their religious differences an excuse to rebel against the civil authority of their king. Two reasons are assigned for their hostility: they "set themselves to the task of uprooting Christianity," and "they were an army of rebels, fighting against their earthly and their heavenly sovereign." A more grievous thing followed: they received into their midst the "emissaries of Rome," and their last state was worse than the first. The mission party fought, we are repeatedly assured, not as Christians against heathen, but as soldiers of the State against rebels; and the missionaries visited the besiegers morning and evening to give them the consolations of religion, while the French "Jack priests," as the Rev. Mr Yonge is pleased to call his fellow-workers, stayed within the walls of the fort, and encouraged the heathen in their seditious resistance to lawful authority.

Several questions occur to the reader of this narrative. If the war was really a mere civil disturbance, it is strange that the line of cleavage between loyalists and rebels should have been the same as that which separated the

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797 Christians from the heathen. If the heathen were the 798 aggressors, why do we always find them in the position of besieged rather than of besiegers? If, on the other hand, they were simply fighting for liberty to dissent from the majority, they can scarcely have been the aggressors; and indeed for persons fighting "for the express purpose of destroying their king, whom they hated on account of his religion, and of slaughtering all his Christian subjects," they showed a singular neglect of their own interests, for they allowed King Aleamotu to return to his friends after he had voluntarily placed himself within their power. With questions such as these to solve, the reader feels that if he accepts the statement that the civil war in Tonga was the work of the "great enemy of God and man," he must also admit that, with diabolical cunning, the devil chose the pious missionaries as his instruments for producing strife.

If the missionaries succeeded in blinding themselves regarding the origin of these wars, they did not deceive [115 the natives. In October 1893 it was my good fortune to find Akesa, the daughter of Lavaka, chief of Bea, still living in Fiji as a pensioner-servant of a mission family, —bright-eyed and intelligent for all her seventy years. From her relationship to the chief of the heathen party, she had been selected by King George to carry messages to and from the enemy, and had been present both at the death of Captain Croker and the fall of Bea. She began her narrative with the words, "You must know that there were three wars to make the heathen turn to Christianity."

Besides the missionaries there was but one writer who was an eye-witness of the disturbances of 1840. Com-

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modore Wilkes of the United States navy, after vainly 797
endeavouring to mediate between the two belligerent 798
parties, did not hesitate to lay some of the blame of the war at the door of the missionaries, thereby calling down upon himself a torrent of vituperation from their apologists. He hints that they had it within their power to avert the bloodshed by consenting to allow the heathen freedom of choice, but that they would listen to no terms but the enforced conversion of the enemy to Christianity. Whether they were or were not to blame, the war of 1840 did not leave them scatheless. When H.M.S. Favourite left the island after the disaster at Bea, we are told that the surviving officers "took with them the two missionaries, Messrs Tucker and Rabone, with their families." Commodore Wilkes is more explicit. He says that the Christian party, the aggressors, were put to flight, and that the missionaries hastened away from the storm they had provoked and were powerless to allay.

The missionaries have accused Wilkes of a bias against 797
them, and of "a strange prejudice in favour of man in his savage state": it is therefore fair to compare the statement of an observer who was confessedly an admirer of the great results they had accomplished. Commodore Erskine, who visited the group in 1853, writes:—

> I am indeed bound in justice to remark that in respect of their treatment of the people here [in Haapai] and in Vavau, the gentlemen of this mission do not compare favourably with those of the London Society in the Samoan islands. A more dictatorial spirit towards the chiefs and people seemed to show itself; and one of the missionaries in my presence sharply reproved Vuke, a man of high rank in his own country, for

of Athens,—a people ever running after some new thing. 797
While they were complacently receiving the homage of [781]
their flock, when they reproved the chief Vuke for presuming to stand in their presence; when they humbled the chiefs and exalted the commoners; when they taught their flocks the rudiments of a representative government; when they allowed the natives to see their thirst for money,—they were infecting their cause with the disease of which it is now dying: while they wrangled with the priests of the rival Church, and taught the natives that to worship their crucified God with a visible crucifix was a degree lower than the heathenism they had cast away, they drilled with their own hands the holes by which their ship has foundered. There are many who blame Mr Baker only for the deplorable state of things that has made the Wesleyan Church in Tonga a byword throughout the southern hemisphere. Baker was not alone to blame. He must share the responsibility with the founders of the mission who begat the traditions of temporalities exacted by the ministry, of intolerance of rival creeds, and of the *auri fames* which their successors have inherited.

It is difficult to say which mission is most to blame for 797
the unseemly antagonism which they displayed towards 798
each other. The Wesleyans have reproached the Roman Catholic priests with having joined and assisted the king's enemies in a rebellion against his authority, and so justify themselves for reviling them to the half-converted natives. The reproach seems to me to be in a great measure undeserved. The French priests found that the Protestant missionaries had failed to convert a large body of the natives,—that they had even sanctioned an attack upon

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797 them by the forces of the Protestant chiefs. What more
798 natural than that they should take their message to the heathen who had refused Protestantism than to natives who had already accepted it? What more natural than that they should retaliate with the same weapons for the slanders heaped upon them? Is there a sadder picture in mission history than this, of men charged with the message of peace and love, choosing this distant field to fight out their old quarrel, forcing their half-savage converts to take sides with them, proclaiming aloud their divine message of peace and goodwill, and whispering gross slanders of one another into the wondering ears of those whom they were sent to teach? Had they made the civilised world the umpire of their quarrel, we might have deplored the evil chance without blaming the combatants, but since they chose to submit their theological disputes to the judgment of half-tamed savages, no censure can be too severe for them. It is no compensation that they are punished for it, that in slandering one another they have damaged the cause of both for all time. Savages are logical; it is because they are too logical that we class their intelligence as inferior to our own. These men came to teach them peace, and bade them love one another, and with the same breath they declared that the other foreigners who were preaching the same doctrine were liars and worse. If these foreigners, they argued, thus disagreed among themselves about their religion, how was it more true than the teachings of their own priests? If, while commanding to love, they could thus hate one another, which of the commandments of God need be read literally? The seed of the *odium theologicum* never fell upon

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a more rankly fertile soil than in Tonga. As soon as the 797
people had grasped the idea that their foreign leaders were 798
not themselves above criticism, they rushed into the field of sectarian strife with the same savage ardour that had fired them in battle a few years before. The Gospel was true, but its evangelists were fallible. They did well enough as leaders of the Church forces, but they were open to the free criticism of their own followers.

Of the means used by the missionaries to inflame the natives against their rivals I might quote many instances.
In the 'Apologia,' printed in France by the priests in the 00o
most atrocious Fijian, Martin Luther is described as a "disgusting fellow," Wesley as a lying teacher, and the Reformation as brought about by Henry VIII. from even lower motives than those usually assigned to him by hostile historians. The Wesleyans replied to this by a pamphlet printed in red ink in Fijian, intituled 'A Catechism concerning the Catholic Church,' from which I take a few extracts:—

6. *Q.* Do they adduce evidence of their teachings from the Bible?

*A.* Certainly not. Nor has their religion at any time been general throughout the world.

7. *Q.* Is it right that they should be called disciples of Christ?

*A.* This is strangely like false teachings and evil deeds, and therefore we disbelieve them.

17. *Q.* Why do not the Papists injure people in England and other countries in these days?

*A.* Because it is forbidden in the law of the land, and because the people of the true faith are numerous in some countries, and it is therefore impossible.

000 the defendant's conduct reprobated by the Chief-Justice as
it deserved. Nothing abashed, the Wesleyan body rallied
to the support of their calumnious brother, and appealed
to the public to subscribe the costs of his defence.

797 Gradually the fervour of the first converts gave place
798 to the mere heat of partisanship. The Churches flourished
795 simply from their rivalry with each other. The Wesleyans poured their offerings into the missionary-basins as
a defiance to the taunts of the Roman Catholics. The
Catholics flocked to the church festivals to prove the
superior attractions of their form of worship. But after
the fall of Bea, and the consequent conversion of the
heathen to one Church or the other, the active quarrels
between the two missions began to die down. The Wesleyans were the strongest, and the Catholics saw that they
could gain nothing by over-zeal in proselytising. The
king and most of the influential chiefs were on the other
side, and the attractions of pictures, music, and processions
in their services did not outweigh the pleasures of being
allowed to pray and preach, which were permitted to
000 every Wesleyan who had a turn in that direction. As an
intelligent Wesleyan in Fiji once put it in accounting for
the popularity of his Church, "among the Catholics there
is no *torotoro* (promotion). In our Church we may hold
family prayers twice a-day, and one may be a local
preacher without ever entering the ministry. If that is
not enough, one may enter the ministry and at last be
ordained like the white clergy, and may preach continually,
waxing hot in the discourse. The Papists have none of
these pleasures. They may only listen to the priests
without ever being allowed to preach."

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797 related elsewhere, the Conference unwisely resisted the
795 demand for home-rule until it was too late, and Mr
Baker had gone over to the enemy and founded the Free
Church. Then all the dormant fires of sectarian hatred
burst out afresh. The majority of the native ministers,
tempted by the promise of higher salaries, went over in
a body to a Church in which they had greater liberty,
798 higher pay, and a satisfied feeling of patriotism. They
795 scarcely needed Baker's encouragement to persecute the
minority that remained faithful, for they knew that upon
the universality of the new Church depended their appointments.
The old, regarding them as traitors, would
never have taken them back except at a great disadvantage.
So they persecuted, and thereby awoke in their
opponents all the obstinacy of the Tongan character.

The old Church flourished under persecution as Churches
always have flourished. Left contemptuously alone, it
might possibly have died a natural death: under the
shadow of a promise of martyrdom, some of the vigour
of its lost youth returned to it. But the life-giving fire
was party spirit, not religious feeling. From the establishment
of the Free Church dates the real overthrow
[181] of devotional earnestness among the Tongans. The
change had been long impending, for the temperament
of the people is incapable of a steady warmth. A fire
of enthusiasm that had blazed so fiercely must needs
soon smoulder away into ashes. Henceforward the
form only survived — the spirit had burnt itself out.
795 With the Free Church a fourth party, who mockingly
771 called themselves the *Lotu jio* or "Looking-on Church,"
came into existence. They were the lukewarm, who

had now an excuse for declaring their indifference. For 795
the sake of peace they professed to belong to the Free 771
Church, but they attended none of the services, and in
reality they belonged to no Church at all. The Roman 795
Catholics, as neutrals, sucked no small advantage out of the quarrel, for they opened their doors to all those who feared to be Wesleyans and refused to be Free Churchmen.

It is a compliment to the Rev. J. E. Moulton to say 797
that, in their hour of need, the Wesleyans were un- 798
fortunate in their champion. They wanted a rough-handed fighting man, cool, thick-skinned, and not over-scrupulous, who would meet such a man as Baker on his own ground, and fight him with his own weapons. They had instead a gentleman and a scholar, full of generous impulses and enthusiasm, a born teacher, whose field was the class-room, not the atmosphere of low political intrigue. Against each successive outrage his only resource was protest; and until it was too late and he had earned the king's enmity, he failed to see that calm good-humoured toleration of insult might have undermined Baker's influence where indignant remonstrance only served to strengthen his position. He left all the fighting to his coadjutor,—a gentleman with a natural turn for litigation, whose ill-directed efforts, while they embarrassed the native Government, inflamed the chiefs of the Free Church against the people he was endeavouring to serve.

These missionaries were unable to realise that the steadfastness of their followers was obstinancy under the lash of persecution rather than the fire of religious

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797 conviction. The tenets of the new Church were the
798 same as those of the old, and therefore no conscientious
scruples could have weighed with the inflexible minority.
They were held really by the natural repugnance of
every man of independent character to being bullied into
doing a thing he has at first refused. But the
missionaries expected that, as soon as the removal of Mr Baker
put an end to persecution, the people would flock back to
their old Church. They were bitterly disappointed when
they found that very few of their old adherents cared to
do so. The truth was that the old Church had become
unfashionable, now that its members could no longer have
771 the distinction of aspiring to martyrdom. Indifference
had permeated the new Church and the old alike.
People still went to church because the king did, and
because it was the sole opportunity for the display of
new clothes; but they dropped religion from their
conversation, and spoke of their respective Churches only
795 as political organisations. The Wesleyan Conference had
[797] withdrawn Mr Moulton, and substituted for him one of
their ordinary ministers, ignorant of the Tongan language
and character, who found himself confronted with an
unexpected difficulty. The returned exiles from Fiji, of
whom the majority of their leading men were composed,
had been spoilt by the fuss that had been made over
[181] them. Their natural conceit as Tongans had been so
[563] fostered by their admiring friends, that they would no
longer submit to the control of any foreigner were he
563 a hundred times their minister. Perhaps the antagonism
797 to Europeans, which the early missionaries in their war
against the traders had so industriously cultivated, was

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797 there by the Conference in Australia seem to be chosen at
haphazard from among the ordinary recruits for the Wesleyan
ministry. They themselves appear to regard their
mission as a profession rather than as a call, and to attach
greater importance to the details of church government
than to the spirit of missionary enterprise. Few of them
are sufficiently interested in the natives to care to learn
more of their inner life than has a direct bearing upon
[798] their church membership. I may even say without harshness
that their chief efforts are devoted to securing adequate
collections, and to defeating the work of their rivals,
the Roman Catholics. From the 'Methodist Missionary
Review' of November 1892 I take the following ingenuous
passage from the pen of the most active among the present
missionaries in Fiji: "Our average for the past three
years has been £1000 a-year. Some of our mountain
sections have greatly increased their subscriptions, so that
I do not walk hundreds of miles across the awful paths of
Colo for nothing." In another place the same writer
jocosely alludes to a curious system of remuneration:
"Now there arose a new Mission Board over the brethren
in foreign fields, and they said—through the General
Secretary—'Behold, the children of these missionaries are
more and mightier every year; come, let us deal wisely
with them, lest they multiply and cause a debit balance
in the annual accounts.' So it has come to pass that the
brethren in the foreign fields have been notified that *a
reduction of five guineas per annum will be made on all
children born after the 31st December next.*" One cannot
forbear wondering whether this heartless order had the
desired effect.

000 have made for you. It is our farewell to you: do not be angry with us that we are going to leave you for a time. We are your children, but for a time we are going to worship the god of the foreigners: nevertheless, be not angry with us!" Then the gods consumed the spiritual essence of the meat, and the missionary and his suite ate 797 its grosser material fibre and enjoyed it very much. To the converted native the heathen gods are not always false gods; they continue to exist, but they have been deserted for a time in favour of the gods of the foreigners. This is why relapses into heathenism on the part of the most promising converts will always be so dangerously easy. The spirits of their ancestors are to them what Baal and Rimmon were to the people of Israel—existing beings, who may at any time become malignant and [798] demand propitiatory sacrifice. With so thin a curtain drawn between the old and the new faith, the fickleness of the natives, and the coolness that always follows hard upon the white heat of conversion, have doubtless each contributed their share to the decay of mission influence; but I venture to assert that the main cause has been the unseemly dissension between the Churches, and the enlistment of the natives in feuds utterly unworthy of the Christianity the missionaries profess to be teaching.

I do not forget that the Wesleyans were first in the field, and that all these evils might have been avoided if, as in British New Guinea, the Churches had agreed upon exclusive spheres of influence, with well-defined boundaries for each mission. But the time for that has gone by, and it remains for the missions to look to the condi-

I myself came at last to admit the advantages of this 693
system, since, when I declined to give them advice upon 671
cases *sub judice*, much of my time was occupied in ap- 645
peasing consular representatives for illegalities practised [563]
by the courts upon the subjects of foreign Powers. If I
had attempted to right the wrongs of Tongans suffered at
the hands of their own magistrates, I should have had
time for nothing else. The stumbling-block of the magis- 693
trates was the subtlety of their reasoning. Not long before 685
my arrival three men were indicted for stealing a pig. It 695
transpired in the evidence that two of them had agreed to
keep watch while the third committed the theft. "This,"
said his worship, "was no ordinary theft; it was con-
spiracy!" He found that his law-book defined conspiracy [671]
as a synonym for *talisone* (treason), and the punishment [687]
provided for *talisone* was twenty years' penal servitude.
These criminals were said to be languishing in prison
when the general amnesty that followed Mr Baker's fall
set them at liberty.

The pliancy of the police magistrates made them, in the 693
hands of a Free Church Government, ready instruments 798
of persecution. The courts took their bias from the attitude of the Executive. Every law that could be made to bear hardly upon the Wesleyans was strained to their discomfort. By an abuse of the land laws they were deprived of their holdings. In places where the minister was the only Wesleyan, he was charged with neglecting to keep the church lands weeded—each enclosure being treated as a separate cause of offence—and imprisoned in default of paying the enormous fines imposed upon him. For all these abuses Mr Baker has, with some injustice, been

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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693 made personally responsible. He, it is true, gave the
798 bias to the courts, but, once started on their devastating
way, the magistrates in their crass stupidity went to lengths he would have repudiated had he dared.

They were generally men of inferior calibre. Tongotea, the most notorious, was a handsome, bright-eyed man of about fifty, too young to be naturally tolerant, too old to be reformed. In the missionary reports on the Church troubles his name recurs as often as Mr Baker's in these pages. Execrated by the missionaries, he was not less hated by the traders for his habitual discourtesy and dislike to Europeans when on the bench. He was too hardened an offender to realise that the old order had changed, and we had at last to yield to the continued petitions for his dismissal.

671 At the beginning of 1888 the confusion in the laws had
645 become such a scandal that Mr Baker determined to
797 codify them. He lacked either the courage or the energy
to submit his code to Parliament, and he therefore passed an Act empowering him to "revise" the code of laws and print them in Tongan and English—surely the widest power ever conferred upon an individual in the history of representative government. At the end of two years he had written the English version and about half the Tongan. I have it on the authority of the pundits—native and European—that the Tongan version was so full of errors as to be quite unintelligible; but it is possible that in his anxiety to retain his position as legal adviser to the magistrates, he intentionally made their path thorny and difficult.

The English version is entitled to rank high among the

694 Hardly had the king returned when a new task was
563 thrust upon my collar-galled shoulders. The contractor for the tax-copra, to whom I have before alluded, brought an action against the Government in the High Commissioner's Court to recover damages for the losses he had sustained through over-estimating the amount of copra the taxpayers would bring in. To the Tongans, knowing nothing of civil jurisdiction, the position of defendant in a court of law has mysterious terrors. "Here," they said, "is the fruit of this new Government! We are to be haled to court and punished for the sins of Tukuaho and his foreign adviser. We shall be fined, and then a man-of-war will come and perhaps seize the country." There being no counsel within reach, I had to conduct the case in person. I felt sure enough of my ground to promise the king a victory, or at least that, in the event of defeat, I would myself pay whatever damages were given against us; and this confident assurance went far to dispel his alarm: but the case occupied seventeen precious days at a time when they could least be spared. Yet our victory afterwards proved to be almost worth the waste of time, for the fickle mind of the Tongans leans ever to the winning side, and our contractor unwittingly gained us many adherents in Parliament.

793 The Free Church ministers, aghast no doubt at the
645 portent of the election of four Wesleyans to represent
609 Nukualofa, now shot their last bolt. They began to
[798] preach against me in the pulpit. Early one Monday morning a letter written in Fijian was handed to me with great secrecy by a mounted messenger from Hihifo, who had followed me about until he found me alone. It

is, moreover, held in awe by the Commons, for "Tungi 646
ne montre jamais le fond du sac," as one of the French
priests said of him. He is followed by Mr W——, the 646
Pontifex Maximus of Tonga, clad in decent black, and 793
wearing an expression of deprecating piety. He is to [465]
earn to-day his stipend as Royal Chaplain, an item that
has received the anxious attention [142]
of the Cabinet, to whom [291]
a retrenchment of £100 a-year [302]
is of importance. He gives out [533]
a hymn, the member for Vavau,
who forms the choir, bellows the
tune, while the rest follow him
two octaves lower pianissimo.
The House shades its eyes with
its hand, while the prelate wrestles
in prayer and discreetly
withdraws. There is a pause.
Then Mataka, the chief clerk 646
(who, by the way, is still supposed
to be undergoing imprisonment
for flirting with the fair
Lobase), calls the roll. The new
members are now to take the
oath. The ceremony is imposing 646
until the turn of the two Roman Catholic members 795
arrives. They object to be sworn upon the Protestant 798
Bible, and a clerk runs in haste for a version of the Bible 779
translated into Tongan by the Roman Catholics. He
returns with a thick shiny-covered book, which the two
members kiss cheerfully. I examined it afterwards, and 646

*The clerk of the Parliament.*

175 probable that his election was the result of a prolonged
643 peace of six years, which gave the chiefs time to revert
to the ancient constitution of society. One year after
175 his election he publicly embraced Christianity, and a
643 797 party, having for its object active resistance to the new
669 faith, was immediately formed against him. Tubou was
[621] utterly wanting in force of character. His impulse to please every one led him to temporise with the heathen party, which was composed for the most part of chiefs who saw in the new faith a menace to their own power over their people. Had he been less vacillating he might have crushed the growing resistance to his authority at its birth, but his resolution failed him until it was too late.

Against his irresolution the character of Taufaahau
175 stood out in strong relief. He had long been sceptical
634 797 about the gods of his ancestors, and his mind was ripe
to imbibe new ideas. He had heard of the new teachings, and he longed to hear them for himself. He therefore wrote to Mr Thomas asking that a missionary might be sent to him. No white missionary was available at the time, and he had therefore to be content with Peter Vi,[1] the ablest of the new converts. Bitterly disappointed, Taufaahau refused at first to receive him, but at last his curiosity prevailed, and he allowed Peter to teach him
175 to write. As soon as he understood the teachings of the
634 new religion he signed the death-warrant of the old. To
797 silence the opposition of the native priests, he dragged
798 Peter with him into many escapades intended to discredit
the deities of his ancestors. They presented kava to

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[1] The same who visited us on a hand-cart in Haapai.

the priestess of Haehaetahi, and beat the unfortunate 175
woman, challenging her god to avenge the insult; they 634
hanged five idols by the neck, and burned the spirit- 797
houses, to convince the people by ocular demonstration 798
that infringement of the *tabu* had no penalties.

In 1827 Captain d'Urville in the Astrolabe anchored 175
at Pangaimotu,[1] and was attacked by a party of natives, 177
who carried off with them one of his marines. Not being 609
disposed to land, or apply to the local authorities, and
knowing the evil character the people had earned in
their attempts to take ships, he bombarded the island
for two days without doing serious damage. Later in the
year Peter Dillon, on his way to find the remains of
de la Perouse's ill-fated expedition at Vanikoro, put
in for a few days to secure interpreters.

Finau Ulukalala III. (Tuabaji, *alias* Finau Fiji[2]), who 175
now held independent sway over Vavau, following Tau- 634
faahau's example, had also written for a missionary; but 797
his motive proved to be that of mere curiosity, and he
soon cast off his new professions. In April 1831 Tau- [628]
faahau visited Vavau with twenty-four sail of canoes,
on political business, and took that opportunity for
attempting the conversion of his eccentric neighbour.
It was a hard task, and he found it necessary to sail
back to Haapai unattended to ascertain from the missionary
whether it would be safe to promise Finau a
missionary if he would consent to renounce his gods.
Satisfied upon this point, he returned to the attack.
Being before all things practical, Finau determined to 175 634
give his fathers' gods one last chance before finally 797 776 778

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[1] Near Nukualofa.

[2] Described by Mariner.

175 ism that made them independent of political changes.
797 But against the silent forces of inherited enmities in
175 Tongatabu, the legacy of years of civil war, Christian-
797 ity could make no headway. It was enough that Tubou
798 the king had accepted the white man's religion for
the chiefs averse to his rule to remain heathen. That
Tui Vakano had been converted was reason enough
for Lavaka, lord of Bea, to continue unregenerate. In
1835 the chief holding the title of Tui Vakano joined
the missionaries, and his people formally deprived him
175 of his title, and expelled him from their midst. Furious
797 at the treatment he had received, he reported that
798 the heathen party were determined to depose King
669 Tubou by force of arms. The Christians immediately
threw up intrenchments at Nukualofa, and thus precipitated the outbreak of hostilities. But a severe hurricane, that destroyed the food supplies, compelled both parties to remain inactive throughout 1836. At this juncture it is probable that the king might have averted war had he shown the least firmness or energy; but as he made no effort to win over the hostile party by diplomatic means, and the missionaries were powerless to quell the strife they had raised, civil war became inevitable.

In January 1837 the Christian party took up arms with the avowed object of suppressing a rebellion, and met a body of the heathen near Bea, defeating them. "The heathen party could put more fighting men into the field, and Tubou therefore sent to Taufaahau for reinforcements from Haapai. It was a missionary war—a crusade in which the club and the Bible were linked against the powers of darkness; and no knight-errant ever went

against the Crescent with greater zest than the new con- 175
verts showed in their quarrel with their heathen country- 797
men. By the middle of March the struggle was at an 798
end and peace was declared, but still neither party felt 669
safe outside of their intrenchments. The principal conditions imposed upon the heathen were that no person should be persecuted for his religion.

They did not long keep their undertaking. Both at 175
Hihifo and Bea the new converts were subjected to petty 797
annoyances that more than once drove them to arms 798
again, and goaded several to return to the gods of their forefathers. But the threatened renewal of civil war did not prevent the hostile parties from meeting on the
occasion of a great national festival. On the 14th of May [634]
1837, Tui Belehake, a chief of the family of the Tui Tonga,
married Charlotte, Taufaahau's daughter. At this mar- [622]
riage all the heathen chiefs attended and mixed with the Christian chiefs on friendly terms.[1]

One can sympathise with the feelings of the heathen 175
chiefs. The new religion, they saw, would soon destroy 797
the little power that remained to them. It was introduced 622 628
by foreigners, and was being forced on them by their hered- 578
itary enemies of Haapai and Vavau, who made it an excuse for plundering their homes, just as they had done in their annual raids before the Christian religion had been

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[1] This event enables us to fix the king's age with some degree of proba- [643]
bility. Taking King George to have been twenty-five years old at the time of Charlotte's birth (for he had a son older than Charlotte), and her age at marriage to have been at least seventeen, King George must have
been born in 1797. Charlotte's grandson, Taufaahau, succeeded King [644]
George in March 1893. She died at Nukualofa in August 1891, after her return from exile for adherence to the Wesleyan Church.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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175 even heard of among them. It was a foreign religion, and
797 it aimed at destroying their influence over their people
623 628 and substituting that of a foreigner; therefore they, as
578 Tongans, would resist it to the death.

175 In 1839 it was reported that a plot to assassinate the king
798 had been discovered. The storm-clouds were gathering
669 thick, but still they did not break. In January 1840 King Josiah Tubou paid a friendly visit to Ata in Hihifo, and some of Ata's followers took that opportunity for attacking and killing a party of Christians in their plantations. This outrage being a declaration of war, a strong party was at once despatched from Nukualofa to bring the king to a place of safety. The heathen party invested Fou'i, and Tubou, knowing that the fall of Fou'i would be the signal for an attack upon Nukualofa, sent a fast-sailing canoe to Haapai to implore Taufaahau's help. When he arrived it was arranged that he should meet the enemy and submit terms of peace to them. A deserter from the enemy met him on the way to the meeting, and warned him that a plot had been formed to shoot him from an ambush as soon as he reached the appointed place. He at once returned to Nukualofa, and advanced upon Hihifo with all his forces. After investing the place for nearly a fortnight he had recourse to a curious stratagem. When civil war breaks out in Tonga, it is the custom for each man to fight on the side of the people with whom he happened to be staying on the outbreak of hostilities. Thus brothers often find themselves ranged against one another. He now ordered such of his men as had relations or friends among the enemy to advance to the ditch and call upon his friend to desert, assuring him of safety. When this was done numbers of the

[1840]

besieged jumped over the wall and joined the besiegers, 175
leaving the garrison too weak to resist. Hihifo thus yielded 798
without the loss of a single life, and Taufaahau, true to 669
his promise, spared the lives of the 500 prisoners who fell
into his hands.

He now consented to take up his permanent quarters in [701]
Nukualofa with his army of 900 men and their families.
On April 20, 1840, an attack was made upon some stragglers near Nukualofa. The Christians were upon the point [177]
of making reprisals when Commodore Wilkes of the United
States exploring expedition arrived, and offered his services as mediator between the hostile parties. But his
efforts were frustrated by a fresh attack by the heathen,
and he left the island without effecting his object. Rightly 175
or wrongly, he formed the opinion that the missionaries 798
by their indiscriminating zeal had brought about the war, 669 797
and that King George Taufaahau was using the oppor- 643
tunity to so increase his prestige as to secure his succession
to the office of the reigning king. Although the result of
the war was the advancement of the interests both of King
George and the missionaries, I see no reason to believe that
either were disinclined for peace. The worst that can be
said is that it was a missionary war, brought about by zeal
untempered with discretion, and that in this respect only
can the bloodshed be laid at the missionaries' door.

On the 21st May 1840 Captain Croker anchored at 175
Nukualofa in H.M.S. Favourite, and was appealed to by 177
the missionaries to help them out of their difficulties. He 798 669
landed half his ship's company, and advanced upon the
fortress of Bea with three field-pieces. The guns were
brought into position within range of the enemy's muskets,

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175 and Captain Croker entered the fort under a flag of truce.
177 The garrison were willing to listen to his terms, and he
778 left them with the understanding that they should have
669 half an hour to consult their allies. At the end of the time an English sailor, nicknamed Jimmy the Devil,[1] who was armourer to the heathen forces, appeared above the gate and asked for more time—indeed it afterwards transpired that they were upon the point of accepting the terms; but Captain Croker stood watch in hand, and upon the stroke of the half-hour he ran towards the gate crying, "Now, men, follow me." In the first volley from the fort he and several of his men were wounded, and as he leaned for support against a cocoa-nut-tree he was shot through the heart. Two of his officers were killed, and nineteen men wounded: the survivors succeeded with great difficulty in carrying off the injured, and they at once put to sea, taking with them the missionaries and their families. The field-pieces are still in the hands of the Tongans, and serve to keep green the memory of how they beat a British man-of-war.

The whole blame of this extraordinary incident, which has done so much to damage British prestige with the Tongans, must rest upon Captain Croker, who paid for his folly with his life. For becoming the aggressor in a quar-

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[1] There was more than one "Jimmy the Devil" in Tonga. A few months after the attack upon Bea, some of the blue-jackets were discussing the affair in a public-house in Sydney. A man sitting near, hearing the word Tonga, joined in the conversation, saying that he had been in the islands. "They called me 'Jimmy the Devil' down there," he added. The wretched man barely escaped from the blue-jackets with his life. They had mistaken him for the "Jimmy" who shot down their commander.

[1840-1845]

rel that did not concern him he may be excused—for, in the 175
excitement of the time, it is more than probable that the 177
missionaries greatly exaggerated their own danger, and 798 669
thus placed him in the position of a protector of British
interests; but for the gross incompetence and indiscretion
shown in leading the attack he must bear the sole responsibility.

The heathen party, having beaten off their assailants, 175
began to grow tired of the confinement of life within their 798
intrenchments, and readily accepted peace without the 669
imposition of terms on either side. The new converts, 175
with the doctrine of universal love ringing in their ears, 797
were now to learn something of Christian hate, and, to do 798
them justice, they made very apt pupils. In 1842 some
Roman Catholic priests landed and joined the heathen at
Bea, among whom they had as much right to be as the
Methodist missionaries who had failed to convert them.
The mutual recriminations of the rival teachers could not
leave their followers unaffected. Religious differences
among natives, fostered as they always are by their
spiritual guides, invariably lead to political troubles.
The heathen chiefs now asserted that they had a right [669]
to be independent, and that they would give asylum to [643]
any fugitive from the laws promulgated by the king.
The priests had set their followers in the road that
leads to civil war, and for the misfortunes that overtook
them they had only themselves to thank.

On November 14, 1845, King Josiah Tubou died. On 175
his deathbed he summoned Tungi, the representative of 643
the Tui Haatakalaua and the principal heathen chief, and 634
charged him to regard George Taufaahau as his succes-

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[1845 - 1847]

175 643 [634] sor. Perhaps his dying wishes would have failed to outweigh the claims of a competitor possessing higher influence with the chiefs whose duty it is to elect the member of the reigning family best fitted to succeed, but there was no such competitor. The two chiefs who had the nearest claims were Mumui, and Maafu, King Josiah's son; but as Tubou-toa's son and Tukuaho's grandson, Taufaahau's rights were unquestioned.

George Taufaahau went through the usual native form of disclaiming any desire to succeed; but resistance to the proffered honour is expected of every candidate. On December 4, 1845, the chiefs from all parts of the kingdom assembled in the time-honoured grove at Pangai in Hihifo, under the hoary *toa*-trees that had seen the royal cup placed in the hands of Ngata and his successors in lineal descent for two centuries, and whose roots had been watered with the blood of the avengers of the murdered Tukuaho in the great rebellion of 1799. The state kava-ring was formed; the two hereditary king-makers took their seats on either side of the king-elect; the kava was poured into the cup; the presiding *matabule* proclaimed that this was the kava of Taliai-Tubou, Tui Kanokubolu. George Taufaahau, the warrior, the chief of Haapai and Vavau, was no more; and George Tubou, the champion of the new faith, reigned over all Tonga as his fathers had reigned before him.

King George Tubou, as he will now be called, spent the
175 643 669 798 622 first years of his reign in cementing his authority. Signs were not wanting that the heathen party had not accepted the new order of things. In 1847 he decided to remove his Court from Nukualofa to Haapai, as a warning to such

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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[1847-1852]

of the chiefs of Tongatabu who had failed in their respect 175
towards him. He left Tongatabu under the government 643
of the two Hahavea chiefs,—Maafu and Lavaka of 669
Bea,—making them responsible for the maintenance of 798
peace. They, in common with the other chiefs, had 622
taken a pledge not to repair the fortifications of any of
the fortresses, and to punish the first chief who should
dare to disturb the peace. But as soon as he had left
the island they lost no time in repairing the earthworks
of Bea. When the news reached the king, he returned
to Tonga in a fleet of war-canoes, and summoned the accused
chiefs to his presence. They strenuously denied the
charge of sedition, and renewed their assurances of loyalty.
But the king had scarcely returned to Haapai when
they began again to annoy their more loyal neighbours,
hoping to goad them into open resistance. The chiefs
now petitioned the king to return to Nukualofa, and in
July 1851 he acceded to their request. The rebel chiefs
now showed their intentions more clearly. They refused
to meet the king, and declared their intention of separating
themselves from his Government. They had with [797]
them some French priests, who have been accused of
encouraging them in their resistance. In February 1852
the works of Bea were hurriedly restored, and a collision
became inevitable. The quarrel was again a question
of the new religion. The heathen had for a time
been allowed to follow their own inclinations; but in
1850 Tungi, the son of Maçaliuaki, the most influential
of their party, joined the Christians, and they saw that
they must either follow his example and surrender their
influence, or take up arms in the defence of their in-

[1852]

175 dependence. They were the more ready to adopt the
643 latter alternative since the priests pointed out to them
798 that they would be surrendering not to King George—
669
622 that they had already done—but to the English missionaries, who had become his Ministers of State as well as of the Gospel.

175 Before finally taking the field, the king made an effort
643 to induce the priests to leave the rebels—for his foresight
797 told him that any injury they might sustain would afford
669 a pretext for the demands of a foreign Power for indemnity. They refused, however, to leave the fort, probably feeling that the desertion of their friends on the approach of danger would destroy their prestige beyond repair. The courage they showed in braving the dangers of a siege by a stronger party, with the prospect of the horrors of savage victory at the close, compares favourably with the conduct of their rivals who fled the island in 1840, and deserves something better than the sneers that have been heaped upon them by the Wesleyan missionaries.

175 On March 1st the king distributed muskets among his
643 chiefs, and formally declared war. After two slight skir-
669 mishes, a pitched battle was fought near Bea, with con-
[713] siderable loss on both sides, but without decisive result.
[725] On the 14th the Roman Catholic Bishop of Samoa arrived
[177] in a French ship-of-war to inquire into the cause of the
[797] war, and left again with the avowed intention of bringing
[701] help for the beleaguered priests from Tahiti. On the 12th of April the king closely invested Bea, by throwing up four earthworks at different points of the fortification, garrisoming them with a total force of 10,000 men. He

[1852]

175 king's efforts they were removed to a place of safety, and
643 their property was dragged out of their burning houses.
669 Lavaka, Maafu, and Tubouleva were pardoned, and they
[727] forthwith renounced both heathenism and the Christianity
[797] of the Roman Church, which the Protestant chronicler
[798] naïvely classes together. Thus ended the second Wesleyan
[797] crusade, and Protestantism, sustained by the musket
and the club, was again triumphant.

175 In the following November the long-expected help from
177 Tahiti arrived in the person of Captain Belland of the
643 Imperial frigate Moselle. A formal inquiry was held to
investigate the charges brought by the priests and the
captain of a French whaler; and the French commander,
while acquitting the king of responsibility for any injury
sustained by the priests, warned him against allowing
his zeal to blind him to the right of his subjects to entire
freedom of conscience. In closing the inquiry he said to
the interpreter, "Tell him that I have known many chiefs
in the South Seas, but I have never met his equal."

175 Relieved of his anxieties at home, King George had
643 now the leisure to consider his long-cherished scheme of
travelling abroad. More than once in his youth he had
almost yielded to a temptation to ship before the mast in
one of the passing whalers that made Tonga their annual
port of call. Had he done so, the history of his country
would have been different, but he was reserved for higher
175 things. His mind naturally turned to Fiji, where a new
643 kingdom had been unexpectedly won for him. The number
648 of Tongans settled in Fiji had grown into a standing
669 menace to the peace of Tonga. Any disaffected chief
167 might recruit an army of free-lances there, well trained in

136 remember the name of that powder, to give its inventor a gratuitous advertisement! In half an hour our enemies were all upon the floor at the mercy of a soft broom and a dust-pan. We filled two buckets with their kicking bodies, and fed the kitchen fire with them. We heard next day that every house in Nukualofa, from the king's palace to the pigsties, had been made uninhabitable, but that at sunset they had disappeared, to be seen no more till next year.

795 Our escort of policemen were most obliging
798 fellows. One was a Wesleyan, the other a Free Churchman, and the friendly theological discussions in which they indulged from time to time showed that the bitter sectarian hatred, so sedulously nurtured by Mr. Baker, had quite died away. Ten years before a Wesleyan could not have hoped for the humblest government appointment.

825 I was bursting with the showman's pride as we rode into Kolovai, having wrought the expectations of my companions to the highest pitch. I begged them not to look up until we halted under the trees. When I gave the word they looked up, and then they looked at me. Surely these were not the trees! But the state of the foliage left no doubt upon that point. We

776 connected with the wider worship of Bulotu Katoa. The sacred
animal of Mafuta-ae-ta'u was a great sea-eel (Toke), who dwelt in
[825] an opening of the reef opposite the village. This deity resented
anyone's appearance on the beach near his abode with the head bound
with a turban, or whitened with lime. Should anyone so disregard the
eel's feelings as thus to appear in the forbidden area he would be taken
off to the hole in the rock where the god lived. It is related of one
unlucky wight who so offended that he was born off by the enraged
god, but five days later, when his friends and relatives ashore had
finished celebrating his obsequies, he suddenly appeared amongst
them, not, however, his old, good-looking self, for the eel-god had
plucked every hair from his head.

A small fish called the *vete* was regarded as the girdle of Mafuta-
776 ae-ta'u, it being asserted that a shoal of *vete* surrounded the great eel
825 like a leaf-girdle. A similar statement is made about another fish
and one of the shark-gods, to be mentioned later. The eating of the
776 *vete* was not forbidden, but it was *tabu* for the chief Tamale to go down
to the beach on the days when it appeared. Should he neglect this
825 precaution of keeping out of the way (probably within doors) the *vete*
784 would disappear. Restrictions of this sort are not confined to Tamale.

[262] The father of the present Tamale adopted Christianity, and burnt
the temple of his god. Its furniture included fine mats, weapons of
778 war, and carefully wrought pieces of wood painted with tumeric.
[798] Probably this is a representative collection of temple treasures.

Taufa is another god of the chiefly eastern end of Tongatabu,
associated particularly with the great Tui Haatakalaua chief Tungi
776 and his family. The Tungi chieftainship is comparatively late, but
643 the title is now borne by the Tui Haatakalaua, one of the oldest and
proudest names of the Tongan nobility. The special domain of Taufa
776 was a large district called Ahau, including several important modern
[103] villages, in the east of Tongatabu, but the name is more familiar now
as that of a village at the other end of the island. One of the most
776 widely used names of the hero-king, George Tubou I., Taufa-ahau, is
said to be derived from the name of this god and his district. In
643 childhood the king was cured of a serious illness by Taufa, and
551 thereafter bore the name Taufa-ahau. This name was previously
unknown in his family, but has since been perpetuated. Taufa had a
776 famous sanctuary. It is related that, during a time of war, Niukapu,
a chief of very ancient lineage, fled from his foes and gained this
778 house of refuge. His enemies thereupon slew a man, and, with
[784] appropriate accompaniments, presented him as an offering to the god.
The priest Kautae, thinking it shame that a man who claimed
776 sanctuary with him should perish, slew his own daughter and gave
778 her to the waiting warriors, thus ransoming Niukapu. Tamale, who
related this, spoke of Kautae as having given his own life to Niukapu's
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There is a tradition that an early Tui Tofua was about to kill his 779
son in a fit of jealous anger, but the youth obtained his father's
permission to sail away with some of his people. When they got well 825
out to sea he told the crew to jump one by one into the water. As each
man leapt into the sea he became a shark, of the more harmless variety
called *anga*. The young chief himself was last, and he was turned into
one of the great man-eating sharks called *tenifa*. A Samoan on board,
not relishing the metamorphosis, refused to participate, and returned
and told the tale on shore. Since then the shark has been sacred (*tabu*) [784]
to the Tofua people, and must not be eaten by them, on account of the [262]
relationship subsisting between them. There is still extant a song [533]
referring to this exploit.

I have received a brief note regarding the gods of Niua Fo'ou, one 133
of the most distant islands of the Tongan Group, lying midway
between Vavau and Samoa. This is a hilly, volcanic island, with a
lake in an old crator in the middle. It has been the scene of volcanic
outbreak within very recent years.

The note states that the gods of Niua Fo'ou were three in number, 776
namely Pig's Liver, the Octopus, and a large lump of Coral (*Bunga*).
Neither the pig's liver nor the octopus could be eaten by their 262
worshippers. Throughout Tonga the liver is a very special portion of [784]
the pig, and when on important occasions cooked food is presented to [565]
a chief the liver of a pig is taken and ceremoniously placed before him.
Bunga (Coral) is the name of the chief of eastern Tongatabu from 773
whom Motuku-vae-valu, the father of Mui, was hiding when his son
discovered him. Bunga was overcome by that hero in a wrestling
match. This Bunga was the possessor of two enormous *kava* plants,
and of a white flying-fox from whose movements he read auguries.

When Niua Fo'ou became Christian the people threw their coral 798
god into the lake.

There are several gods mentioned by Mariner of which I have not 114
been able to get any independent account. Mariner was best
acquainted with Vavau, whereas the foregoing notes deal mainly with 776
Tongatabu. As a whole, however, the Tongan people fit into a frame- [101]
work which may be constructed in Tongatabu. The chieftainships of
the two northern groups have well understood relations with Tonga- 565
tabu, all deriving ultimately from the Tui Tonga. It is not clear what 634
was the first home of the Polynesians in the group, or what they found 643
on arrival. Tradition points to their having come from Samoa, a
conclusion which is supported by the general evidence of geographical 174
distribution, and to their first settlements having been in the southern
part, though the farthest from Samoa, in Eua and Ata. It is not
impossible, that these southern settlers may have been pre-Polynesian,
and that the acclimatisation of Polynesian myths amongst them was

as are the ordinances against allowing domestic animals to 671
stray into public thoroughfares. Blue laws prohibiting work [688]
and play on the Sabbath are observed scrupulously by the
Tongans and diligently enforced among Europeans by the
Tongan police.

So thoroughly saturated is the Tongan with what might 798
be called "tabuism" that his attitude at times becomes
intolerant and even persecuting. A well-educated Tongan [186]
one day remarked to me concerning Sunday picnics of European
residents, "Well, what can you expect from ignorant
foreigners ?" On another occasion I observed a helmsman
on a church-owned passenger vessel severely rebuked for
not joining in a hymn. When the schism occurred in the
Methodist ranks in Tonga and resulted in the establishment
of the Free Church, there was much downright physical
suffering administered to Tongans who preferred the old
faith. A number of these displayed the true martyr spirit.
Others became Roman Catholics rather than join the new
church and still others yielded reluctantly to the call of the
new church.

It should be noted that many Tongans have entered 797
the ranks of missionary workers and taken an important
part in Christianizing Melanesia and New Guinea.

Some Catholic churches in Tonga still use the booming 794
of the huge wooden native drums (lali) to summon their 795
congregations. The Protestant churches seem largely to
have adopted the less inspiring bell. I have noted, too, [202]
Catholic congregations seated cross-legged on the floor.
Protestant congregations seem more generally to use
benches.

A feast for the minister after his Sunday sermon seems 795
to be the established Methodist practice in Tonga. Apparently 796
we have here a good old Methodist custom which fits
"hand-in-glove" with the feasting of the priest at the time
of inspiration in pagan days.

Christianity has been a powerful democratizing factor 771
in Tonga. Through it the arbitrary powers of the chiefs 177
have been curbed and conversely the status of the commoner 565
has been bettered. Anciently commoners were supposed to
have perishable souls. To-day their souls are imperishable [774]
like a chief's. In addition to bringing about more of a 177
balance between these two extremes of Tongan society, the 793
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tain kept the people in awe, and for a time no signs 797
of the coming change could be seen. 634

At length two men, called Faone and Lube, yielded to their convictions, and avowed themselves Christians. They knew full well the risk that was incurred, but, in dependence upon Divine aid, they made the venture; and were prepared for encountering cheerfully all hazards. With no Missionary near them, nor any Christian teacher, to give them advice or shelter; these men stand out from the thousands of heathens around them, and in the face of an angry monarch, proclaim themselves followers of Jesus Christ. What a triumph, and how glorious were its results!

They were immediately summoned to the presence of the chief, and with many threats were commanded to desist from prayer. They knew not but that the club of their autocrat master would lay them in the dust; but they, nevertheless, boldly refused to recant from the religious profession they had made. Happily the wrath of the heathen was partially restrained. The persons of these two men were not touched, but they were forcibly driven away, from
lands, and wives, and friends. Meantime the islands 797
of Haabai had received the Gospel, and thither, 798
therefore, Faone and Lube went for safety. There also the heathen greatly persecuted them; but they remained steadfast through it all. They were proof against open persecution, but would they equally resist bribery, and bland persuasions, to deny their Heavenly Lord and Master? Let us see.

The arrival at Haabai of a canoe from Vavau is 797
heralded by the rapid roll of the wooden drums. 634
Part of its business is to bring a message from the [202]
offended Ulukalala to Faone and Lube. They are [534]
[203]

recorded in the history of the religious progress of 797
his country, on account of the bold stand which 157
he and his companion Lube made, when, as yet, the thousands of their fellow-countrymen, were bowing down to stocks and stones.

Their decided conduct unquestionably produced 797
a great impression upon the mind of Ulukalala, 634
and still more so upon the people at large, many of whom were secretly anxious to follow the example of Tonga and Haabai. But during two years Ulukalala was madly bent upon sustaining idolatry, and [798]
continued to repress, with bitter and cruel persecution, the rising wishes of many of his people. In April, 1831, Vavau was visited on temporal business by Taufa-ahau, (the present King George,) from Haabai. He went in considerable state, with a fleet of twenty-four large canoes, in which were many chiefs and commoners, who, with himself, had recently renounced the idols of heathenism. These spread the leaven of the Gospel still more widely, amongst the people, while Taufa-ahau personally employed all his powers of argument and moral influence, with his friend Ulukalala. Gradually the proud mind of the chieftain yielded; and he went so far as to express a willingness to receive a Missionary, if he were sent direct from England. Leaving his fleet in Vavau, Taufa-ahau, with characteristic promptitude, set sail at once to carry the intelligence to his own resident Missionaries at Lifuka. Upon hearing the glad news, they wrote a friendly answer to Ulukalala, stating that his wish for an English Missionary would shortly be gratified, and exhorting him to dismiss his former prejudices, and believe in the true God. With this letter Taufa-ahau returned

797 634 to Vavau on the 27th of May, and on the following Lord's Day, Ulukalala, and a number of his people, began to worship God. The service of singing and prayer was conducted by the native Teacher, who had accompanied Taufa-ahau and his fleet, as a sort of chaplain.

797 798 634 When this memorable Sabbath was over, Ulukalala issued an order that the heathen temples under his control should be burnt down. Some of the chiefs still held aloof, and many people heard with alarm the threatened demolition of their pagan deities and sacred places. But in the midst of all the divided opinions agitating the people, there were many willing hearts and hands ready to do the work. For three days the smoke of heathen fanes, and burning idols, darkened the azure sky of Haafuluhao, and ascended as the incense of a spiritual sacrifice before the presence of that Great Being, by whose power and Spirit the glorious triumph had been brought about.

797 634 The converts who had gone from Haabai to Vavau in the fleet of Taufa-ahau, were now besieged by anxious inquirers. They knew but little, as yet, of Bible religion themselves, but they knew more than the Vavauans; and the little they did know was willingly imparted. For days and nights in succession, some of them talked, read, prayed, and sang with the new converts. The thirst of the people for the word and worship of God seemed insatiable; and it was with difficulty that Taufa-ahau and his followers could tear themselves away on the return to Haabai.

[565] [798] [669] There were several important chiefs by no means satisfied with the new state of things inaugurated by Ulukalala. These men and their people soon con-

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

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stituted a heathen party, who only wanted the 797
presence of a bold leader, to assume the attitude of 798
open antagonism. The triumph that had been 669
gained over heathenism was too grand to be allowed [565)
to pass unchallenged, or unassailed, by the "god of this world." During long ages he had held the people in miserable bondage, and would not now let them go free without a desperate effort to recover his power. He soon found a ready tool to execute this purpose, in the person of a chief, the half-brother of Ulukalala, who, about this time, returned from a temporary residence in Fiji.

After organizing the disaffected chiefs and peo- 634
ple under his own command, Laulalo began to 798
inflict heavy sufferings upon the Christians. At 669
first single houses, and then entire villages, were ravaged and plundered. Ulukalala, for a time, permitted these grave proceedings to go on unchecked; but when the heathen party at last fortified themselves in the town of Otea, on the island of Falevai, and had declared war against him, he was compelled to adopt strong measures for securing the peace of the land. There can be no doubt that his brother had a double object in view: first, to root out the new faith; and secondly, to wrest the government from the hands of Ulukalala. In this emergency, and chiefly because the rebellion was headed by his own relation, Ulukalala applied for counsel and aid from Taufa-ahau. The latter accordingly sailed from Haabai with a large fleet, and, upon reaching Vavau, used his best influence to effect a peaceful reconciliation of parties. The heathen, however, were fully determined to try the force of arms. They would listen to no conciliatory overtures, and would not consent to submit under any conditions

634 to the government of Ulukalala. Accordingly the
798 fortress of Ótea was closely invested by Taufa-ahau
669 and his warriors, as the allies of Ulukalala. Very
soon the spirit and courage of the besieged began
to flag, and ultimately the fort was taken by stratagem,
and was razed to the ground, without any
bloodshed :—a new thing truly in the tactics and
annals of Tonguese warfare, as well as a commanding
evidence of the great change that had already
come over the temper and habits of the people.

797 Soon after this bloodless conquest, the rebel
798 chiefs and their retainers, one by one, joined the
Christians; and thus was heathenism, as a system,
completely swept away, even before the foot of an
English Missionary had touched the shores of
Vavau.

634 Zephaniah Finau Ulukalala did not long survive
the period of his own conversion, and that of his
666 subjects. He died toward the close of 1833, truly
[797] relying upon the Saviour; and by his dying commands
and nomination, the chiefs of Vavau proceeded
to elect Taufa-ahau, then baptized George,
King of Haabai, to the supreme government of
Haafuluhao. Although, in after years, it appeared
that this was not done very heartily by certain of
the chiefs, yet they could not deny the just hereditary
right of Taufa-ahau to become Ulukalala's
successor. The election, therefore, was carried into
effect in due form, and with the apparent consent
and sanction of all concerned.

634 This accession of King George was, undoubtedly,
of great importance to the interests of religion in
781 Vavau; but an event of still greater moment
occurred in the course of the years 1834–35.

It pleased God to visit the people of Vavau, at

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

797 several French priests, to obtain a footing on the islands.

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In November, 1839, an important step was taken by the king, in the adoption and promulgation of a code of laws, and by the appointment of four judges or magistrates, by whom alone all cases of crime, or civil complaint, were to be legally tried and disposed of. The code was very brief and primitive, but it was valuable as an establishment of the principles of law and justice, in a land where "might" had hitherto been "right," and where the despotic club had usually been the supreme arbitrator in all serious quarrels. Neither chiefs nor people were hereafter to take the law into their own hands. The rights of all parties, in criminal or disputed matters, were to be decided and maintained by the appointed and responsible courts of law, after a fair and open trial.

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Thus, in 1846, we found Haafuluhao completely purged from its former heathenism. Only fifteen years had elapsed since the people had submitted to the sceptre of Christ. Yet now the Sabbath was rigidly and reverently honoured. Sanctuaries had been erected, and were well attended, in every village. Considerable progress had been made in Scripture knowledge. Schools were in active operation. Upwards of two thousand Church members claimed unceasing pastoral attention; while the entire population was under daily religious instruction in some form or other. Numbers of lay-preachers, and Day-school Teachers, were under training, by the Missionaries, for various important duties and posts of usefulness. Property and life were guarded by the sanctions and power of law duly administered. Domestic relationships

of Christianity; but there were many, never- 797
theless, who still remained heathens at heart,
however much they were restrained, by the new
state of things, from outward practices of super-
stition and sin. We need not, therefore, be sur-
prised that the anger of such persons was sometimes
directed against the Missionaries, and that it led to
the perpetration of serious offences.

The Mission premises at Neiafu were twice set on 797
fire by evil-disposed men. On the first occasion, 798
which happened before our arrival, the Mission
store and the greater part of its contents had been
destroyed. This act entailed upon the Mission great
pecuniary loss, and was the cause of serious priva-
tions to the Mission families. The second instance
involved the destruction of the dwelling-house and
personal property of the Rev. Walter J. Davis, who
had arrived in June, 1847, to strengthen the Mission
in Vavau. A new house having been built for the
writer, Mr. Davis occupied that which we had
vacated, it being contiguous to the printing estab-
lishment, the oversight and working of which was
to devolve more immediately upon him. He had
not been settled many months when, in the depth
of a stormy night, the place was maliciously set
on fire. The whole range of the Mission dwellings
and outhouses was placed in imminent danger, and
it was only through the ready aid proffered by num-
bers of the people that the fire was limited to Mr.
Davis's house. Fire-raising having become a thing [671]
of too frequent occurrence in the settlement of [643]
native feuds in Vavau, the king had previously
issued a decree, declaring the crime punishable by
death, where it could be proved that the lives of
the inmates were aimed at, or were even seriously

797 endangered. The attempt on Mr. Davis's house
798 was certainly of an atrocious description, and might
have ended fatally. So rapid was the advance of the flames, that he and Mrs. Davis, awakened suddenly by the fierce crackling of the devouring element, had barely time to escape with life. The deed was held in the utmost detestation by the great bulk of the people; but the author of it escaped detection for several months. A singular train of circumstances led, at length, to the discovery of the culprit and to his arrest upon the charge. After trial and
797 conviction, followed by a full confession of the crime,
798 he was sentenced to undergo the extreme penalty of
the law. The day for the execution was fixed, and
685 the king, who had in the meantime arrived at Vavau,
643 ratified the sentence, and seemed resolved to have it
carried into effect. The Missionaries, however, by earnest and united entreaties, prevailed upon him to grant a commutation of the sentence into one of penal servitude for life; but he would not permit this fact to be made known to the young man until the very last moment. Accordingly a great crowd assembled on the morning for the execution, which, had it taken place, would have been the first since the introduction of Christianity. The profound silence and solemnity that prevailed, presented a most favourable contrast to the abominable scenes that attend English executions. When the prisoner had been led, pinioned, into the presence of the king, the latter proceeded calmly and sternly to dwell upon the aggravated nature of the crime committed, and the righteousness of the doom he had incurred; but when he went on to say, that through the interposition of the Missionaries, the criminal's life was to be spared, a thrill of satisfac-

tion passed through the crowd, and the young man 797
himself seemed scarcely to credit the clemency that 798
had been extended toward him. It was truly painful 685
to observe the varying emotions betrayed by his 643
features during the king's address, but he never lost [152]
his self-command.

The tear that trickled down his cheek showed 797
that he was not insensible to the danger he had 798
escaped, or beyond the reach of recovery from the 685
state of mind under which he had imperilled not only Mr. Davis's life and property, but also that of the entire Mission establishment. It is questionable, however, whether he did really repent of his crime. He died about two years afterwards very suddenly, and, according to native report, in great agony of both mind and body; the probability being that he had taken poison rather than continue any longer in a state of criminal servitude as a *tamaioeiki*, or slave.

In the month of May, 1848, an English whaling 648
ship visited Vavau, commanded by a captain who stated himself to be a Wesleyan. During his stay a serious misunderstanding arose, which had well nigh led to fatal results; such as had often been witnessed, in heathen times, when, under slight provocations, or urged on by insatiable cupidity, the natives had destroyed foreign vessels and massacred their crews. Having lost one of the men, while on the whaling ground, the captain gladly accepted an offer of shipment made by a sailor on shore, to make up the complement of his hands; but when this became known to a few of the principal chiefs, they peremptorily demanded from him a payment of thirty dollars, before they would permit the foreigner to leave the island.

happiest results; as will be seen by the following 797
statistics, which show the rapid advances made from 1831 to 1834:—

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|---|---|---|---|
| Tonga | 1829 | Number of church members | 31 |
| | 1830 | | 72 |
| Tonga and Haabai | 1831 | | 516 |
| Tonga, Haabai, and Vavau | 1832 | | 1422 |
| | 1833 | | 3456 |
| | 1834 | | 7451 |
| Total number of scholars attending the schools in 1834 | | | 7241 |

In these large numbers, however, Tonga itself 797
had but a small share. The heathen districts of 798
Hihifo, Houma, Bea, and Mua, forming by far the most extensive and important portion of the island, remained firm in opposing the Gospel. Many of the chiefs, indeed, had determined to adopt measures by which the further spread of Christianity might be prevented; and some of them hoped that it might even be rooted out. For the accomplish- 797
ment of this work, they made preparations to wage 798
war against the Christians, and to depose the king, 669
Josiah Tubou. The island was kept in a very unsettled state during 1835-6 by warlike rumours of various kinds; and, in 1837, actual hostilities broke out. As the heathen party far outnumbered that of the king and his Christian subjects, he followed the previous example of Ulukalala, in Vavau, by summoning to his aid King George, of Haabai; through whose alliance and assistance the contest was brought to a speedy and successful conclusion. The Heathen were discomfited; and the peace which ensued was ratified by an interchange of presents, according to Tonguese custom, between the King of Haabai, and the various Heathen chieftains of Tonga. The results of this war were

797 not great, as to any progress made amongst the
798 heathen population. Indeed, it was never prose-
669 cuted with the idea of converting them by physical force. They were rebel offenders against royal law and order; and, when they had submitted to these, the object of the contest was accomplished. Nevertheless, it was overruled for some good purposes, beyond those of a merely political kind.
797 The Mission premises at Hihifo, after a suspension of operations there, extending over eight years, were allowed to be re-occupied by the Rev. Stephen Rabone; who had the happiness of seeing many of the heathen converted under his ministry. Among these were some chiefs of note, whose example went far to shake the remaining confidence of the people in the waning deities and heathen practices of the country.

797 The peace of Tonga did not last very long. In
798 the beginning of 1840 a war, more fierce and
669 determined than the former, commenced, and continued over a period of eight months. The principal heathen actors in this new attempt to overthrow the authority of Tubou, and to overpower the Christian party, were the chiefs of Hihifo and Bea. The latter directed the brunt of their rage against Nukualofa, and the former against the small fortified settlement of the Christians at Foui, about a mile from the chief town of Hihifo. We gather the following particulars of the origin and progress of this war, from the letters of the Missionaries then resident upon the island, the Rev. Messrs. Charles Tucker, and Stephen Rabone.

[721] On the 14th of January, the heathen, under the chief Ata, of Hihifo, murdered four of the Chris-

tians belonging to a small fortified village near 797
Nukualofa. These persons were at work in their 798
fields when the heathen fell upon them. They 669
also attacked a little girl, whom they left for dead; 721
but she afterwards recovered from the effects of the wounds inflicted. This horrible act was perpetrated whilst King Josiah Tubou was on a friendly visit to the chief of Hihifo. He had gone thither, in fact, to persuade Ata to become a Christian, and to attempt the creation of a kindlier feeling between the Christian and heathen people there. There can be no doubt that the murder was committed, at that particular time, with the design of preventing the good effects that might have followed these peaceful endeavours. Abraham Vakajiuola, the king's brother, upon hearing what had happened, started for Hihifo, accompanied by a large party of armed men, who brought the king away in safety. Ata and his people of Hihifo and the neighbourhood then flew to arms against the Christians of Foui, and would not be persuaded by the entreaties of the old king to desist. The course adopted by Ata was quickly followed by all the other heathens of Tonga, and a general war upon the Christians was determined on.

The old king felt himself personally unequal to 797
meet the emergency, and, as in the war of 1837, 798
he now again sought for support and succour from 669
his old friend, and tributary sovereign, King George, of Haabai and Haafuluhao. King George arrived in Tonga just in time to thwart the well-concocted plans which the heathen had laid for the destruction of Foui. The two kings sent messengers to Ata, to know if a visit from them would be agreeable, and, if possible, to make up the breach

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between the two parties. For a time he gave evasive answers to the repeated messages sent; but at length consented to receive the friendly overtures of King George, who immediately prepared to enter Hihifo on his peace mission. It was discovered, however, that the whole thing was a villainous trap. The heathen had taken measures to secure the murder of King George immediately upon his entering the fort. Of this purpose, the chief, Ata himself, made confession. Of course, under such circumstances, all idea of temporizing with the heathen, any further, was abandoned. The place was closely invested, and, through the skilful tactics of the besiegers, the heathen, at last, surrendered at discretion. Five hundred prisoners were taken; but instead of former barbarities being practised upon them, they were all pardoned by the king, who had previously issued orders to his warriors to refrain from shedding blood while taking possession of the place.

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The result of this contest was the return of Ata and his people to their accustomed allegiance to Tubou. The whole place was also thrown open once more to Christian effort, and this issued, very shortly, in the entire abandonment of heathenism, in Hihifo and the villages in its immediate vicinity.

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The scene of civil conflict was now shifted to Nukualofa, against which the combined heathen forces from Houma and Bea were directed. They had already formed a plan of attack, but the fall of Hihifo deterred them, for a time, from any active movements. By the urgent request of King Josiah Tubou, and the loyal chiefs, King George remained at Nukualofa with about nine hundred of his men, in readiness for any emergency that might arise.

On the 20th of April, the heathen assumed the position of aggressors by attacking a canoe belonging to Nukualofa. They took five prisoners, whom they carried off to Bea; but, after merely threatening the remainder of the unarmed Christians with death, they suffered them to depart. Five days later, a United States' ship of war arrived, commanded by Commodore Wilkes, whose squadron of four vessels was then engaged in an extensive exploring expedition under the auspices of the American Government. The Missionaries had an interview with him, in which they related all that they knew about the state of Tonguese affairs. On that very day, however, a fatal encounter occurred between a heathen fighting party from Houma and the Hihifo people. The former fired unexpectedly upon the latter, and wounded five or six of their number. A sharp skirmish followed, in which six of the Houmans were killed. They then fled, although they far outnumbered the Hihifo party. 797 798 669

An ill-arranged and fruitless attempt was made by Commodore Wilkes to bring the contending forces to peaceful terms. He seems to have acted upon the supposition that the heathen were the aggrieved and injured individuals; and when he found that these both duped him and robbed him, notwithstanding his good opinion of them, instead of manfully acknowledging that the representations made by the Missionaries were true, he left the islands in anger; and in evident chagrin at being outwitted and laughed at by the heathen, he published opinions concerning the Missionaries of a damaging character, which had no foundation in justice or truth. 797 798 648 669

797 Soon after the departure of the American com-
798 modore, further aggressive acts on the part of the
669 heathen followed. The Missionaries were kept in
648 a state of constant alarm and danger, from the 12th
of May until June 21st. Various fatal encounters, between the rebels and the loyalists, took place on a small scale during that interval of time, all of which tended to embitter the animosity of the combatants. On the latter date, H.M.S. "Favourite," commanded by Captain Croker, arrived. He had received a letter from the Rev. Mr. Thomas, while at Vavau, requesting his amicable interposition, to arrest, if possible, the further progress of the war. Upon landing, therefore, at Nukualofa, he immediately intimated to the allied kings his readiness to do anything he possibly could to terminate the war. Such, however, was the state of affairs, that the two Missionaries addressed the following letter to the captain, which, in itself, will best explain the exposed and dangerous position in which they and their families were placed.

"NUKUALOFA, TONGATABU, *June 22nd*, 1840.

*To Captain Croker, of H.B.M.S. 'Favourite.'*

"SIR,

"WE, the undersigned, being Missionaries labouring under the auspices of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in this island, gratefully hail your visit here at this critical juncture as a gracious interposition of Divine Providence, and earnestly implore, as British subjects and Christian Missionaries, your protection and assistance in behalf of ourselves and families.

"In consequence of the civil war which is now

raging on this island, our lives and property are in 797
great danger day and night. Our premises stand 798
outside of the fort, and are, consequently, com- 669
paratively unprotected; and we have no means at 648
our command of removing to a place of safety; the fort being far too small to contain all the Christians who have run thither from the different villages and out-stations to save their lives.

"The heathen have tried to fix on a plan to take Nukualofa by storm; but have been mercifully prevented. They have repeatedly made incursions, both by day and night, to within a short distance of this place. On Thursday last, they killed four aged men from here, within about two miles of our premises, and mangled their bodies by cutting off their heads and carrying them away as trophies to their fort. We heard the alarm, and also that they were chasing others of the Christian party towards this place. Knowing our defenceless condition at the time,—King George, with nearly all the people, being twelve miles off in another direction,—we knew not where to run for safety; but thought it not prudent to risk our lives, and those of our families, by remaining in our houses where we were. We, consequently, had to abandon the premises, with all our property, and the property of the Mission; but, providentially, the rebels retired, after coming within a short distance of our town.

"The Kings Josiah and George, with their people, are alarmed about our safety; and Josiah himself, with a few old men, kept watch at our gates on Wednesday night last, while King George and the people were away.

"There are three fortresses in rebellion against

797 798 669 648

the king and government of this island, counting about 1,400 men. The Christian party number 800 men:* and whenever King George and the people go out against one fortress, we and the few left here are exposed to the rage and murderous intentions of the other two. It has been at such times that the rebels have latterly committed depredations, coming on several occasions very near our premises. We cannot depend upon the natives keeping regular watch, and often fear, when lying down at night, lest our dwellings should be burnt, and ourselves murdered, before morning. We have no means at our command of removing our families and property either to Haabai or Vavau or any other place for the time being. In these painful circumstances we cast ourselves under the shield of British protection, earnestly begging you, as the representative of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, whose subjects we are, to assist us in the removal of our families to some place of safety.

(Signed) CHARLES TUCKER,
STEPHEN RABONE."

After receiving this letter, and promising the protection claimed, Captain Croker, by the request of the allied kings, undertook to act as mediator between them and the rebels, the conditions of peace being drawn up by him, and approved of by the two kings.

Captain Croker then prepared to visit the rebel fort of Bea. But, no doubt, considering the treacherous character of the people, he thought it right to land his guns, and to take an armed force with him. The fortress stood four miles inland, and was a strongly defended place. Having carried his guns very near the fort, he forwarded the conditions of peace; and a signal of approval being given, he was admitted into the fort, when he had an interview with the chiefs. They expressed themselves favourably inclined to his overtures of peace, but wished for time to consider the subject, and to ascertain the minds of the chiefs of the other forts. But before any message could reach any of the other forts, Captain Croker ordered his guns to be drawn within musket-shot of the fortress, contrary to the expostulations of some of his own subordinates, and then, heading the sailors, sword in hand, he said, "Now, blue-jackets, follow me." They did so, but the consequences were disastrous in the extreme. The captain was shot dead upon the spot, and eighteen of his men were severely wounded. The reason of this rash act could never be ascertained; and the English sailors and marines had to retire in disgrace from before the enemy, through the unaccountable conduct of their unfortunate commander. 797 798 669 648

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* If this number be correctly stated, then many of King George's warriors must have returned to Haabai and Vavau subsequently to the capture of Hihifo, as he was before stated to have remained in Nukualofa with nine hundred of his own men, in addition to those under King Josiah.

Immediately after the funeral of Captain Croker, the Missionaries considered it essential for their safety to remove for a time to the island of Vavau, to which place they were conveyed in the ship of war. A sifting examination of the whole transactions satisfied the Missionary Executive, and also Sir George Gipps, the representative of the British Government in New South Wales, that throughout the whole course of these painful events, the Mis- 797 798 669

797 sionaries were fully exonerated from all blame, and
798 that they had always acted in perfect accordance
669 with their high vocation as ministers of the Gospel
of peace and goodwill toward men. It was also proved beyond all disputation that the kings and Christian chiefs had uniformly acted on the principle of forbearance, while desiring as far as possible to find a peaceable mode of settling the quarrel which the heathen had first begun.

Three weeks after Messrs. Tucker and Rabone had left Tongatabu, the former returned to that island, accompanied by the Rev. John Thomas, and effected a visitation of the different heathen fortresses. The result was a happy cessation of open hostilities; after which the suspended work of the Mission was resumed, with greater prospects of success than ever. A few, but still a very few, of the heathen renounced idolatry at the termination of the war. The principal chiefs at Houma, Bea, and Mua, remained firm in their opposition to Christianity, and so also did most of their people. But for several years after the peace that opposition did not assume its former aspects of persecution, and desire for war, against the loyal and Christian party; and not, until, as we shall see presently in relating our own personal experiences, the evil counsels of Romish priests, and the expectation of foreign aid, urged on the heathen population to a fresh attempt at revolution.

797 Before and during the progress of the painful events related, the Missionaries witnessed many instances of clear conversion, and had reason to rejoice over not a few who died in the faith of Christ, exulting in the clear hope of a blessed immortality. There was abundant and satisfac-

797 located, endeavouring to subvert the faith of the native converts. In the prosecution of this object, they resorted to every species of calumnious misrepresentation. They did not, however, so far as was known, succeed in leading astray by these means even one Protestant. The itinerant system was therefore abandoned; and their labours were then devoted more especially to Bea and Mua.

These operations of the Romanists were not confined to the exertions of the resident priests. Considerable excitement was produced at one time, by a report that a French bishop was on his passage to Tonga, for the purpose of turning all Tonga to the Church of Rome. And, at length, a vessel did arrive, having on board an ecclesiastic, said to be a bishop, with a number of attendants. On that occasion, every thing was done to make an impression upon the people, by pompous display, by denunciation of the Wesleyan Missionaries, and by threats and intimidation. The proceedings of the French at Tahiti were enlarged upon; and intimations were given that Tonga could not withstand the French. Considerable alarm was awakened, in the minds of the heathen population, by these proceedings and threats; and some of them began to consider whether it would not be better to submit, and become Papists, rather than subject themselves to the displeasure of the French, and be exposed to the fire of their guns. But still the disinclination, of even heathen minds, to accept a form of religion such as Popery offered, caused them to hesitate; and thus the grand attempt of the Romish emissaries failed, in the end, to bring any important accessions to their communion. They then saw that [798] their strength, if any could be obtained, would lie

in secretly fanning and encouraging the spirit of 797
disaffection, which the termination of the war of 798
1840 had not removed, from the minds of several important heathen chiefs.

When, therefore, King Josiah died, in November, 797
1845, and King George, of Haabai and Haafuluhao, 643
was appointed, by the unanimous voice of both 798
heathen and Christian chiefs, as his lawful successor, the French priests shortly afterwards began, secretly at first, and then openly, to undermine and deny his authority. They first of all attempted to advance the claims of their principal convert, the Tuitoga, to the supreme government. They asserted his right not only among the natives, but to captains of merchantmen, and ships of war, belonging both to England and France; whilst they denounced King George as an ambitious usurper. No sooner, however, did the latter become acquainted with these facts, than he manned a few canoes, and sailed direct to Mua, where he publicly charged the priests with the offence, and where he also confronted the Tuitoga. The latter denied all participation in any attempt to advance himself to civil power; and declared further, that he had no right to it, nor did he wish it. Whether he was perfectly truthful and sincere, in these assertions, may well be doubted; but, nevertheless, his public disavowal of all claims, as opposed to those of the lawful sovereign, effectually prevented any further open attempts on the part of the priests, to be his advocates.

Foiled in this direction, the priests then made another move. They endeavoured to maintain that the several chiefs of Houma, Bea, and Mua, had a perfect right to govern their own towns and people,

797 independently of the general law of the land, and
643 irrespectively of the supreme authority of King
798 George. Thus, when any offenders against the
laws made their escape to either of those places,
[696] they were taken under the shelter of the priests
and heathen chiefs, and were not delivered up to the
officers of the king who were sent to arrest them.
Such was the state of affairs, existing from 1845 to
1850, between the king's government, and the
heathen and Roman Catholic portion of the people.
797 And, we have carefully stated these facts, because
798 they will serve to explain much that will appear in
connexion with the events transpiring during our
own Missionary labours in Tongatabu, from 1849 to
1853. It was impossible that such a course as that
pursued by the Romanists and heathens, could be followed
long, without leading to painful and most disastrous
[669] consequences. These, indeed, soon ensued,
in the commencement of another civil war; which,
however, ended very differently to the wishes and
expectations of the French priests, who were its
chief instigators, and of the chiefs whom they had
misled.

797 From 1845 to 1849, several important advances were made in various directions, upon the heathen population of Mua; until, ultimately, Tugi, the chief of that town and district, consented to the residence of a Missionary there, who thus resumed a station that had not been so occupied, since the departure of the Rev. Walter Lawry, in 1823.

An extensive and well-conducted Institution was also established at Nukualofa, under the supervision of the Rev. Richard Amos, for the education and training of schoolmasters and Assistant Misthenism by the conversion of Tugi, another conversion, from Houma, made a deep impression on the heathen mind. The subject of it, although a very respectable chief of the place, was not of such high station or influence as Tugi, yet his conversion greatly loosened the foundations of heathenism in Houma, and prepared the way for its overthrow. The writer has already embodied the remarkable history of this man's conversion, in a little work, to which the reader is referred for fuller particulars; but a brief outline of it will be necessary here to sustain the connexion of our narrative.* 797

Hafoka, the chief concerned, had been long known as a firm and persecuting opponent of the Christians in the neighbourhood of Houma; but, in the course of the year 1851, his mind was brought directly under the influence of the Divine Spirit, and without the advice or counsel of any human being, he was inwardly constrained to flee from Houma, leaving his wife, family, lands, and friends, with the determination of becoming a Christian. In the village of Neiafu he sought and found rest for his troubled soul, under the instruction of Samuela Moala, the head teacher, and chief of the place. He could not have fallen into better hands, for Moala was one of the choicest converts in the whole of Tonga; a man of prayer, "and full of faith and of the Holy Ghost." To him, Hafoka was distantly related, and from him he received an hospitable welcome, with daily entertainment, while alienated from his heathen family and people. Food, raiment, and lodging, were all supplied,

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* "Hafoka: a Missionary Tale of the South Sea Islands," pp. 117. London: Mason. 1860.

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797 relations, and former companions, forsook Houma,
159 and settled with Hafoka upon this new locality in
Fatai. Temporary houses were built, in one of
[794] which I preached the first sermon to a congregation
of eighteen persons, eight of whom were new
converts from heathenism. Before a year had
gone by, there were at Fatai thirty-five church
members, a good chapel, a school, and a resident
native teacher. There was also a fair prospect of a
regular accession of converts from Houma.

797 While this was going on, Vaea, the old Houman
123 chief, died. I visited him during his last sickness,
and was with him only a few hours before his
763 decease. I talked to him very faithfully about his
soul. As on many former occasions, so now, he
expressed his thanks for my visit and advice; but
he intimated his unalterable resolve to die as he
had lived, a heathen. But, notwithstanding this,
he called his children and friends around him,
after I had left, for the purpose of urging them to
live at peace with their Christian neighbours; and
he even advised them all to become Christians
themselves. Shortly after he had done this he
expired.

565 Another chief was installed with barbaric
honours, who assumed the title of his predecessor
without any consultation of the wishes of
the king. This new ruler became an easy tool in
[662 the hands of designing men, both in Houma and
Bea, in bidding defiance to the government of the
[669 king, and in the attempt which was finally made
to overthrow his power altogether.

798 Early in the year 1851, the fortress of Bea was
669 put into a state of warlike defence, without the
712 slightest provocation from any quarter. For
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several months, stores of provision were accumulated, 798
and every opportunity was embraced by the 669
heathen for obtaining supplies of ammunition from 721
foreign vessels touching at the island. Information [712]
of these proceedings was sent to the king at 798
Haabai; and the governor, Junia Haumono, 669
requested his majesty's presence in Nukualofa. 643
Accordingly, the king removed his residence from 721
Lifuka to that place in July. This, however, did
not alter the conduct of the heathen and Roman
Catholic party. The king forbade, and then protested
against, the fortification of Bea and Houma;
but without avail. He also adopted various conciliatory
measures to maintain peace, but in other
respects remained perfectly passive and patient.
Toward the close of the year, many of the heathen 798
constantly carried arms. Overt acts of rebellion, 669
and seditious speeches, became common. The 721
most defiant language was used toward the Christian
loyalists, and we ourselves, the Missionaries,
were repeatedly insulted.

Attempts were again made by the Romanists to 797
complicate the affairs of the country; two instances 798
of which we may here relate. One of the sons of
the late King of Vavau, Ulukalala, having been [685]
banished to Tonga, on account of an act of incendiarism [682]
and intended murder, took up his residence
at Mua, where he received many attentions
from the resident French priest. Towards
the close of 1850, a canoe arrived at Mua from
Vavau, commanded by an old friend of Matekitoga,
(the late king's son,) on which occasion the priest
waited upon him with a proposal that he should
go off secretly in the canoe of his friend on its
return to Haafuluhao; and, further, that he should

797 be accompanied by a French priest, with whom he
798 should be put on shore on some one of the numerous out-islands surrounding Vavau. To all this Matekitoga agreed; but, as he could not carry out his purpose without the consent of the chief in command of the canoe, he went to him about midnight, and tried his utmost to persuade him to take him on board. The chief, however, would not listen, on any terms, to the jesuitical proposal, but sailed next day for Haabai, where he waited upon the king with information of the whole affair. A
643 few weeks afterwards, King George sailed, with his
798 principal chiefs, from Haabai to Mua. Having
797 sent for the priest, he was charged with the attempt to send back a banished criminal, and with stirring up rebellion against the king's authority, which charges were supported by the necessary proof. The king then handed the priest a copy of the harbour regulations, and laws of the country, stating that if these were violated, either by priests or any other foreigners residing in the islands, they would be dealt with according to the law.

797 In September, 1851, a Roman Catholic chief arrived from Fiji, with a Frenchman, the lay
648 brother of a priest at Lakemba. This chief, whose name was Sovea, had been long expected in Tonga, in consequence of his frequent boastings at Fiji, that he would establish Popery in Nukualofa, his native place. He had more than once tried to reach Tonga, but the winds were adverse, and he was on each occasion compelled to return to Lakemba. At length his object was gained, so far as to reach Tonga in safety. On arriving, he did not go to the
[643] king, with the accustomed tribute of *kava*, or to
[651] do homage; but, he and the Frenchman attempted
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797 was greatly surprised to see the alteration made in this place, by the untiring efforts of its small but increasing population. There are now thirty-five [794] church members, out of about seventy residents, all of whom have forsaken Houma, and heathenism, during the last fifteen months. I arranged to-day for the order and work of their new school. Many of these people are beginning already to read the New Testament. I have no doubt that more of the Houma people will follow their example. There are many persons there whose attachment to Christianity is only kept secret from a fear of the chiefs; and, when these find that they can with safety leave Houma for Fatai, where houses and land will be provided for them, under the king's authority, they are not very likely to remain much longer where they are.

Tuesday, 13th.—Visited Matahau and Fahefa, to examine and arrange the schools. At both these places, I heard a good deal about the agitation among the heathen of Houma. [795] I baptized two old men, who recently came from thence, and who have given evidence of a sincere conversion from heathenism. They tell us that there are many desirous of [798] becoming Christians, but that the chiefs restrain them, by saying, "No, let us wait, and see what Bea does. If they (the Beans) fight, let us fight too."

Saturday, 17th.—A vessel hove in sight, bearing up for Nukualofa, which I at first hoped might be the Mission brig; but, in this we were disappointed. We hope the latter will not be long delayed, seeing we are now miserably short of all kinds of supplies [133] for household use. About seven o'clock this evening, we experienced one of the severest earthquakes

I have known in these islands. Every timber and 797
post of our house cracked and shook dreadfully; 133
while the roof and walls seemed likely to fall upon us. Such would certainly have been the result, with any other kind of structure than these flexible native buildings of ours.

Monday, 19th.—Rode to Nukualofa. I left 797
Hihifo at three A.M., and reached Mr. Webb's house shortly after sunrise, while the family were at breakfast. In the course of the day we met
M. Caligno, the Romish priest at Bea. He told 797
us, in the presence of a good many people, that 798
the town of Bea was certainly preparing for war. 669
This statement led to a long discussion, or rather, conversation, on this and other matters of grave importance; from which it was quite plain that M. Caligno vindicates the course taken by the Bea chiefs. The whole conversation was in the Tonguese language, and was held in the presence of a number of influential natives.

February 20th.—Rumours of disturbances, and of probable war, being on the increase, I had, for some time, determined to seize the first favourable opportunity for visiting the refractory chiefs of Houma and Bea, and of ascertaining the real position of affairs. I mentioned my intention to the king at Nukualofa, and to Ata, our chief here, who both gave me their approval. Certainly no means have been left untried by the king and his Christian chiefs, as well as by all the Missionaries, to calm the existing excitement, and to bear with the heathen and Papists, in their unreasonable and foolish rage.

This day, therefore, I went on my peaceful errand, accompanied by Tevita Hafoka, and Tevita Manu-

797 bagai. When about a mile distant from Houma,
798 we came suddenly upon a large body of armed men,
669 who were marching in single file along a path which crossed the main road a little in advance of our position. I immediately dismounted from my horse, and sat down, *à la* Tonga, between my two companions. In the mean time, the whole band of armed heathens disappeared among the surrounding thickets, leaving only two of their number, who seated themselves at a short distance from us. One of these was an old chief called Fohe, supposed to be more active than even Vaea himself in all the recent doings of the heathen party. After the usual salutations, I explained that we were on our way to Houma, for the purpose of visiting himself, and Vaea, in a friendly manner. He then informed us that Vaea, and himself, with all the principal men of Houma, were now going to the village of Vaotuu, where they were about to celebrate the marriage of Vaea's son; and if we wished an interview, we must follow them thither. This we did with pleasure, being glad to meet them in company with such a large number of the Houma people.

Upon reaching Vaotuu, Vaea received us in a house filled and surrounded by armed men. A considerable time was spent in close and plain conversation upon the state of affairs. It was very evident that Houma was committed to the support of the people of Bea, in the event of hostilities, and that there was no disposition to find a peaceful solution of existing difficulties. Vaea, in the course of our interview, said, "You see us armed, not that we are at war, or wish to fight, but because Tubou" (the hereditary name of the Tongan kings) "is

angry with us, and because he is preparing to attack 797
us. He wants to force us to become Christians; 798
but sooner than that shall be, we will fight and 669
die." To this assertion I thought it my duty to make the following reply:—"It is no business of mine to meddle with your political affairs; but I will say this, that King George does not, and never did, wish to compel you to become Christians: he leaves that to your own free choice. He only asks you to keep the general laws of the land, and to abide truthfully by your voluntary oaths of allegiance to his person and government. As the proof of what I say, you may go to the Christian towns all over the country, and you will not find one place fortified for war, or a single man carrying musket or club. Go and visit the king, as is your duty, submit to the laws, and desist from your warlike preparations and conduct, and I pledge my word that all will be well with you."

A Frenchman, a priest's lay brother from Bea, was present during the whole interview. He was the same man who came with Sovea from Fiji a short time ago, and he seemed to be here on no good errand. He was very anxious to enter into discussion with me, but I told him my sole business was with Vaea, and that having been accomplished, I must decline entering into controversy with him.*

My companion, Hafoka, also addressed the chiefs, but with no favourable effect. Indeed, some of the younger chiefs, as we afterwards learnt, were

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* This same individual subsequently went to Fiji, where he was taken with a painful and fatal malady, during the progress of which he was kindly attended, and nursed, by the Rev. R. B. Lyth.

797 inclined to set upon us as we departed from the
798 village; but they could not agree among them-
669 selves what should be done, and so we mercifully escaped all bodily harm.

We then hastened forward to Bea, which place
[721] we found in a state of complete preparation for
[712] war: ditches cleared and deepened; earthworks raised and surmounted by stockades and fencing; gateways strongly secured and fortified; and the people all in commotion. We went straight to the house of the chief Maafu. He received us courteously, and entered readily into conversation; but of course he threw all the responsibility of the war preparations upon King George and the loyal people. It was in vain we reasoned with him; and feeling quite assured that no good could come of further discussion, I begged him to meet the king personally if he really wished a peaceful adjustment of affairs: to which his answer was, that if the king chose to come to him, it would be well; but if not, things must just go on! From this it was clear that peace could not be maintained long, as it was not likely that the king would ever consent to visit Bea, or Houma, considering the various outrages upon his authority, of which these places had been guilty, and after the reported plots for his assassination there, at different periods, during the past three or four years.

On arriving in the evening at Nukualofa, I stated what had passed both to my Missionary brethren and to the king. Mr. Webb is making every effort to calm and restrain our own chiefs and people, as well as to bring the Beans to reason. Indeed, we are all doing everything in our power for that purpose.

February 28th.—Various rumours afloat to-day of disturbances near Bea, and intelligence has reached us here, at Hihifo, that the Nukualofa people have, at last, taken up arms in self-defence. If so, war is practically begun. The Houma heathen have also been very annoying, and threatening in their attitude, to the Christian villages in their immediate vicinity. Indeed, the people of Matahau, and Fahefa, are removing to this town and to Teekiu for safety with as much haste as possible. In other respects all is quiet in Hihifo. 798 669

March 2nd.—Reliable intelligence having been taken to the king at Nukualofa, that the Bea people are about to make an attack, he ordered the town to be surrounded by a temporary stockade, and to be carefully guarded. He also issued arms and ammunition to his fighting men, but gave strict injunctions to all to practise the utmost forbearance, and to act solely on the defensive, until he commanded the contrary. [712]

March 5th.—The precise position of parties seems, from all that I can learn here, and at Nukualofa, to be this. The whole of the Hihifo district, under Ata, is loyal. Nukualofa and all its adjoining villages are so also. In the eastern, or Mua end of the island, things are rather different. Tugi, and the majority of the inhabitants, are with the king. His fighting force from thence will include Christians, Romanists, and Heathen. The Tuitoga, however, and all his party remain neutral, including the heathen town of Vaini, a fortified place. It is thought the Tuitoga, and others, of the Romanist persuasion, are under the impression that, before long, the French priests

798 may, by their representations, secure the aid of
669 France to settle the dispute in their favour.

March 10th.—In the midst of the present excite-
797 ment and uncertainty, our Mission families have
798 been thrown more together of late in Nukualofa;
669 and it so happened that on this day, when we were
all assembled for mutual comfort and consultation, the Mission brig arrived from New Zealand, having on board a goodly band of Missionaries on their way to Fiji. We gave them as hearty a welcome as was possible under our peculiarly trying circumstances. It having been decided that the Annual District Meeting of the Missionaries should be held here, the brig will sail in a few days to Vavau and Haabai to bring our brethren on. We shall thus be better able to take counsel together, as to the course to be pursued, now that war is actually declared. All kinds of rumours are afloat, but no actual collision has yet taken place. Canoes are arriving from Haabai, and Vavau, bringing numbers of the king's fighting men.

797 Thursday, 18th.—My dear brother, Mr. Webb, having been taken seriously ill, I started from Hihifo before daybreak to visit him, and, on arrival, found him in great danger. The intense excitement, and harassing work of the last month or two, seem to have overwhelmed him.

Friday, 19th.—This morning we entertained some hope of our dear brother's recovery from the severe attack of inflammation with which he had been seized; but, as the day wore on, these hopes were doomed to fade away. The sufferer himself became conscious that his end was nigh. Stretching out his pale hand, and laying his finger upon his own pulse, he said, "Ah, William, the Lord

now lies still in death. What news for the brethren 797
when they return from Vavau and Haabai! Certainly, what with the war, and this calamitous visitation, we need Divine aid and counsel. May we also be ready!

Sunday, 21st.—Arrangements having been made for the interment of our dear brother's mortal remains, these were borne to the chapel by a number of the chiefs, who desired, in this way, to testify their high respect, and love, for one whom they had long known as a warm friend and faithful
minister. The King and Queen, with young Prince [643]
George, were among the chief mourners. The [644])
chapel, and chapel hill, were crowded by a multitude of people plunged in sorrow. I endeavoured to address them as well as my feelings would admit, but my own emotions, and those of hundreds before me, were, at times, quite uncontrollable. From the chapel we went to the royal burial ground, where a place had been assigned for the repose of our brother's honoured dust.

Tuesday, 23rd.—Our minds are somewhat diverted, 798 ●
from our more immediate grief, by the dangers 669
which seem to thicken around us. The heathen 721
are reported to be making excursions from their forts, in small bands, for predatory and murderous purposes, into the surrounding country. Indeed, accounts have reached us that blood has, for the first time, been shed in an encounter between the heathen of Houma and the people of Hihifo. One man has been killed, and several have been wounded.
The Mission ship is now expected, every day, to 797
return from the other groups of islands, with our brethren; and, as I must visit Hihifo to bring from thence documents, &c., necessary for the

797 business of our meeting, I shall then hear all particulars of the affray.

Wednesday, 24th.—Having ridden safely to Hihifo, I preached there in the afternoon, after which I met the teachers, and warned them against being carried away, by the war spirit, into a forgetfulness of God, or the loss of their religion.

797 Thursday, 25th.—I returned in safety to Nukua-
798 lofa, although it appears that I narrowly escaped
682 the hands of concealed murderers, who, shortly
669 after I had passed them, barbarously slew one of
721 our female domestics and Christian leaders, under
the following circumstances. This good and pious woman had become greatly attached to Mr. and Mrs. Webb, and upon hearing of Mr. Webb's illness and death, she hastened to Nukualofa to render Mrs. Webb any service of which she was capable under her distressing bereavement. Having returned to Hihifo, to visit her husband and to bring several little articles from the Mission House there, in preparation for Mrs. Webb's expected voyage to England in a few days hence, she put herself under my care for the journey, being anxious to return to Nukualofa as soon as possible. We reached Nukunuku, a fortified village, without accident, where she went to visit her husband, who was there with a portion of the Hihifo troops. Here, whilst resting at the head teacher's house, I heard that the roads were considered dangerous, and that a party of armed men would be proceeding to Nukualofa on the following day. Upon hearing this, I sent a message to Caroline and her friends, to say that, under the circumstances, she had better remain at Nukunuku, and go forward with the armed party on the next day. Never supposing

she would do otherwise, or that her friends would 797
allow her to proceed alone, I then mounted my 798
horse and rode rapidly forward to Nukualofa. 682
A few hours afterwards, whilst I was with 669
the king in his own house, messengers arrived 721
to say that the poor woman had been killed at a very short distance from Nukunuku. It appeared that, upon receiving my message, she laughed at any idea of danger, and her friends could not dissuade her from going forward. They also, very foolishly, permitted her to go alone, thinking that no harm would befall an unarmed woman. We afterwards learnt that, on that afternoon, two heathen rebels, from Houma, had secreted themselves in a dense thicket, close to the roadside, purposing to avenge the death of a Houman who was killed in the skirmish of the twenty-third. Their intention was to waylay and murder the first passer-by. These men were there unknown to me when I passed on horseback. When I appeared in sight, one of them lowered his musket to fire, but the other stopped him by saying, "That is the Missionary, we must not kill him;" and so I mercifully passed on unhurt. Not so, however, poor Caroline. Sometime after I had passed, she was observed coming along the same road, only about a quarter of a mile from Nukunuku. No sooner had she reached the spot, where the two villains lay in ambush, than they sprang upon her, and murdered her instantly by the stroke of an axe, which almost severed her head from her body.
The sad end of this truly good woman, and faithful 797
Missionary domestic, was a source of profound 798
grief to us all, and especially to myself, and it 669
seemed to bring the horrors of the war very near

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797 to our own door. This sad calamity showed that
798 the heathen were determined not to follow the
669 ordinary usages of Tonguese warfare, by respecting
[177] the life of unarmed females, but rather to imitate
the horrid practices of Fiji; and therefore the king issued an order prohibiting all intercourse between the different parts of the island, excepting through the medium of armed escorts.

Sunday, March 28th.—Just as I left the Mission
798 gate for the purpose of preaching at the Nukualofa
669 chapel, a wounded chief, the queen's near relation,
721 and formerly Governor of Nukualofa, Junia
682 Haumono, was carried past. He was shot through
the head. He had been out on patrol duty, and having ventured with his party too near the fort of Bea, the enemy fired, and mortally wounded him. Hearing, when Divine service was over, that he was still living, I went to see him; he was, however, totally unconscious from the first, and was now evidently dying. I could only comfort and pray with his weeping and wailing family. Junia was a good man, and we had no doubt of his safety. But, oh! how sad and distressing such a termination must be to a good man's earthly career.

April 2nd.—I went to Teekiu, intending to meet
797 the king, and to propose that I should visit the
798 heathen rebels of Houma, with his sanction, and
669 with such terms of peace as he might judge expedient,
so that, if possible, a peace may be brought about even now. This is the first day in which the troops have marched upon the place in a body, and I therefore thought one more effort toward peace might be attempted. Before, however, I had
[726] reached Teekiu, the king and his warriors had left;
and while I was still there, heavy firing was heard

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in the direction of Houma, which is only some three miles distant.

April 3rd.—The firing, yesterday, was only kept up upon Houma whilst the king's party reconnoitred in different directions; but to-day the heathen have made a sally from the fort. A severe engagement has taken place. The firing was heard very plainly here at Hihifo. Several of the Houmans have been killed, and many wounded; but none of the loyalists have been injured, although the firing from the heathen was heavy and long continued. The death-drum has been beating all the afternoon. We have also heard heavy firing in the direction of the Bea fort, but do not yet know what has been transpiring there. We learn that the Mission ship has arrived from Vavau and Haabai.

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April 5th.—The Missionaries began their Annual Meeting this day. The chief subject of conversation was the heartrending condition of the country; and it was resolved that the resident Missionaries should remain at their posts, notwithstanding the danger and risk involved in so doing; because, being on the spot, their influence may be exerted to counteract the evils inseparable from the present state of affairs, and they can watch for any favourable opportunity to secure a peace. A review of the state of our Mission in Tongatabu, up to the period when the war commenced, showed that it had never been in a more encouraging or flourishing condition, whether spiritually or financially considered. Tonga, hitherto last and least, in Missionary successes in these parts, now stood as high as Vavau or Haabai, and, in some respects, even surpassed those groups. With this fact before us, we could not

797 but weep over the desolation this war is likely to produce. We all heartily prayed that it might speedily terminate.

797 798 669 726 April 6th.—While our meeting was progressing, a severe battle was fought near Bea. Several of the king's choicest men have been slain, and many wounded. Among the mortally wounded I found an old friend of my own, Joseph Toga, a local preacher, and a noted chief of Vavau. He was shot through the lungs. He was still sensible, and could speak when I reached him. Immediately upon seeing me, he said, in the native language, "O, Mr. West, I am dying, dying fast; but my trust is in the Lord Jesus Christ. I could have wished to have died a different death; but I have been doing my duty to my king. I have no fear of death. Jesus is my Saviour, and I shall soon be with Him in heaven. Thanks, thanks!" As nothing could be done to save his life, I prayed with him, and then left to visit others of the wounded. He continued, as long as he could speak, to signify his steadfast trust in Christ; and in about an hour, from the time I saw him, he was released from all his sufferings. Another Vavau chief, called Fagubo, was shot dead; and his body having fallen into the hands of the rebels, they cut off the head, and carried it in triumph into their fortress. Josiah Vugakoto, the king's son, and Joeli Mafileo, the governor of Haabai, were also among the severely wounded. In addition to our spiritual duties, we did our best in a surgical capacity for the comfort and safety of them all.

797 798 669 April 14th.—Our brethren left us for Haabai and Vavau. Just as the anchor was weighing for departure, the commandant of the "Henri," a

French vessel from Tahiti, came on board the 797
“John Wesley,” to inquire why the brig was going 798
to sea, and leaving Tongatabu in its present distracted 669
state. We explained that the vessel was
taking back the Missionaries to Vavau and Haabai;
and that we, the resident Missionaries of this
island, were not leaving. After the “John Wesley” 797
had sailed, M. Nalliez visited the king, to 648
inform him that he was sent, by the French Governor 798
in Tahiti, to inquire into the state of the 669
Roman Catholic Missions; and if he found any
French priests in danger from the natives, he had
orders to remove them to Tahiti, should they express
such a wish. Upon being informed of the 797
origin of the war, and of the steps which the king 643
had taken in reference to the personal safety of the 648
priests in Bea, he remarked to the king, “If they 798
wish to go away, I can remove them to Tahiti; 669
but if they choose to remain, the consequences are
with themselves. You, as king, have done your
duty in offering them protection; and if they get
shot by accident, they will nobly fall in the performance
of their duty, and no Government in the
world will complain of either you or them.” The
“Henri” having on board a Romish bishop from [726]
Samoa, who had come to visit his brethren in the
fortress of Bea, the king offered an escort to conduct
him, under a flag of truce, to the place, which
offer the commandant readily accepted for the following
day.

April 15th.—The king had made preparations to conduct the bishop to Bea, when the following letter was handed to me from the commandant, whom we had invited to accept the hospitalities of the Mission House during his stay.

"SHIP 'HENRI,' *April 14th*, 1852.

797 "GENTLEMEN,
643 "I BEG your pardon for not being able to accept
648 your good invitation of yesterday; but, after new
798 consideration, I take the party to accompany the
669 lord bishop to Bea, *viâ* Mua, in my boat. With
many thanks for your kindness, I remain, gentlemen, your most obedient servant. Will you be so good as to give thanks to the king for the escort he had the kindness to offer to me yesterday?

"The Commandant,
"N. J. NALLIEZ."

This polite note made it pretty evident who was master on board the "Henri." Bishop Battallion would rather risk being shot, while seeking a clandestine access to Bea, than he would accept an authority and protection for that purpose from a Protestant ruler. Accordingly, the wishes of the commandant were set aside by his spiritual superior, while the king had to submit to the indignity, cast upon him through the rejection of an escort, and by a secret visit to Bea from those who were leagued with the enemies of his government. In case, however, of any possible collision, between his own men at "the front" and the boat from the "Henri," the king forwarded instructions to those officers who were watching the various land and sea approaches to the Bea fort, to offer no kind of hindrance to the entrance or departure of the bishop and his party.

798 April 21st.—The king, not wishing to sacrifice
669 human life unnecessarily by storming the heathen
726 fortress, has resolved to invest it, and starve the
inmates into submission. For this purpose he has

ordered the erection of a *cordon* of earthworks and 798
strong stockades, commanding all the approaches 669
to Bea. The trenches behind which these works 726
are to stand have already been dug.

May 10th.—The king having decided to make 797
another proposal of peace to the Houman people, I 798
offered to accompany the messenger, and to employ 669
what influence a Missionary might have on such 728
an occasion. Being well known to the Houmans, 643
my offer was gladly accepted. We accordingly 726
marched from Nukualofa to Nukunuku, so as to be in readiness to visit the rebel fort early in the morning. About a thousand men followed the king. As we wound along the narrow paths through the bush, the sight of so many armed men, marching in profound silence, was exceedingly interesting and impressive. A general halt was called at one point of the road, where some of the scouts thought they had discovered indications of an ambush. I had then an opportunity of observing a few of the native tactics. Coming immediately to myself, the king said, "*Misa Uesite, koeha te ke fai ekoe?*" "Mr. West, what will you do?" "Do?" I said; "remain where I am, if you think proper." "Very good," was the answer; and then he issued his orders. A strong party remained, where we were standing in the road, with the king and myself, whilst the remainder of the men spread out on either flank, to beat through the bush, and meet at a point agreed upon, to which the king's party was to advance on a given signal. All this movement was very rapidly accomplished. No ambush was discovered, and we soon reached Nukunuku in the midst of torrents of rain. Leaving the king there, I rode on to sleep at my

797 own house in Hihifo, having arranged to be at
798 Nukunuku shortly after daylight in the morning.

669 May 11th.—I reached Nukunuku during the
728 king's morning assembly with his chiefs. I soon
ascertained that something had happened to stop
643 the intended peaceful mission to Houma. Reports
726 had just been brought to the king, to the effect that the heathen of Houma had determined to kill any one, whether a Missionary or not, who might visit them on any such errand. The king asked me what I thought, and whether I was disposed to go, notwithstanding this report. I replied that my course would be determined according to the nature of the report. If it were only some ill-founded tale or rumour, I should not be deterred on that account; but if it had a good foundation, and was reliable, I could not feel myself justified in rushing knowingly into danger, and perhaps death. I begged him, therefore, first of all to ascertain the truth, or otherwise, of the report itself. Accordingly, inquiry was made, and the author proved to be a man who had recently deserted from the rebels. Upon being brought before the king for examination, he stated that the young chiefs had solemnly agreed to slay any messenger whom the king might send on a peace mission, even should the messenger be one of the Missionaries. We had every reason to believe the man's statement. Even if I had been willing to go, which, however, I was not, the king would not have allowed it. As it was, he led away his warriors without further delay to Houma, where, during the remainder of the day, an incessant fire was kept up upon the place, whilst I returned to Nukualofa, greatly disappointed that the object of my journey

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798 had not been accomplished. After giving all the
669 information I could to my brethren, Adams and
[728] Amos, I rode home twelve miles to Hihifo.

[643] Sabbath, June 20th.—I preached this morning
[726] at Hihifo, and in the afternoon I went to preach
at Nukunuku, accompanied, as usual, by a bodyguard
of armed men. The Missionaries, throughout
this war, have felt it to be their duty to visit
regularly the few fortified towns, as well as the
stockades and camps thrown up around Bea, for
preaching and other spiritual purposes; but the
king will not allow us to run the risk of travelling
about alone. He has therefore ordered a guard of
armed men always to go with us on such occasions.
After preaching at Nukunuku, I mounted my
horse, and, surrounded by my attendants, started
for Hihifo. We had not gone more than half a
797 mile when we were alarmed by the sound of a
798 volley of musketry at no great distance behind us.
669 Our first impression was that some one of our
726 number had fallen behind, and had been fired upon
by a concealed foe; but finding this was not the
case, we began cautiously to retrace our steps.
Another volley, and then the native shouts of triumph
were heard, which convinced us that it was
a friendly, and not a heathen, band. Hurrying
forward, we met them in front of the entrance to
[727] Nukunuku, on their way to the presence of the
chief, one of the band carrying in triumph a human
arm dangling on the point of a spear. These men
had been on patrol duty, and having fallen upon a
small party of heathens, a skirmish had ensued, in
which they had killed one man. They were now
returning to Nukunuku with the bloody evidence
of what had been done. Alas! that the Lord's

day should be desecrated by deeds like these. I could not but turn away from the scene with anger and disgust, while longing and praying for the return of blessed peace.

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June 27th.—After preaching at Hihifo, I went to Teekiu in the afternoon. I had just commenced my sermon there, when we were disturbed by repeated and heavy volleys of musketry, apparently at a very short distance from the town. All the fighting men in the chapel took up their arms, and hurried off. It being impossible to continue preaching, I held a prayer-meeting with the women and old men still remaining. As the firing continued we felt assured that a conflict was progressing. The distance between Teekiu and the heathen fortress of Houma is only about three miles. We had not long concluded the prayer-meeting, when tidings were brought from the battle, by those who came carrying several wounded men into the town. The first I met was a young local preacher, who was shot through the back of the neck, the ball having passed completely through. This young man afterwards recovered, with extreme care and good nursing, no vital part having been touched. Another young man, whom I knew, and afterwards attended, was shot in two places through the back. He also recovered, although he was left somewhat crippled. Another was shot dead, who, I am afraid, was ill-prepared for such a sudden end. I returned to Hihifo shortly after sunset, accompanied by a small party of men. The firing having been heard at Hihifo, I found my dear wife and family all anxiety for my safety. Thank God for His continued protection and blessing in these troublous times; but O!

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that this sad and deplorable war were brought to 669
an end. 726

These extracts from our Journal will sufficiently indicate the horrors, and daily alarms, through which all the Mission families passed, during several months. But perhaps our state at Hihifo was less enviable than that of our brethren at Nukualofa and Mua. The Mission residences there were enclosed within the fortifications of the towns, whereas ours stood outside, and were therefore exposed to the secret approach of any bold prowling heathen, who might fancy to burn down the place, in the dead of night. Of such an intention we received many warnings; and were kept by these in a state of continual alarm and watchfulness. When, however, the Hihifo people had [725]
so matured their plans as to cut off the Houmans from all outward communications, and from all intercourse with their allies at Bea, we then felt comparatively safe.

The Houmans were the first to yield before the 798
king's power. It was known that only one thing 669
had, for a long time, sustained their courage and 648
hopes. They had heard that one of the Romish 797
priests at Bea had sailed in a ship bound for Tahiti, with the avowed purpose of obtaining the interference and assistance of a French ship of war, on behalf of the heathen and Roman Catholic rebels, under the cloak, of course, of rendering protection to the French priests and their property. As might have been expected, the departure of the officious priest only hurried matters to a speedier conclusion. Although aware of the priest's purpose, the king offered no objection to his depar-

798 ture; but he sternly resolved to push the war to a
669 close before any foreign power could interfere.

[797] As weeks rolled past, the Houmans, closely
[648] invested by the loyalists of Hihifo, began to suffer
798 from long confinement, and from the want of
669 proper and sufficient food. They were wearied out,
726 by the harassing fire of small arms poured upon
them, and by their necessarily ceaseless watchfulness at night. Their counsels became divided,
[728] their courage began to flag; and, finally, they
became willing to entertain any proposals for
peace which the king might see fit to offer. They
yielded just in time to save themselves from a great
798 calamity. Finding that, without the aid of addi-
669 tional numbers, Bea could not be completely in-
726 vested, the king had concluded to bring the siege
728 of Houma to a close, by storming it, so that the
whole of the troops hitherto engaged there might be concentrated upon Bea. Some intimation of this intention reached the Houmans, who immediately opened private negotiations with the loyalists, through Tuivakano, the chief of Nukunuku. Upon hearing this, the king sent our old friend Hafoka, and two other chiefs, with a flag of truce to the enemy, demanding, for the last time, an unconditional surrender of the place, with the promise that no life should be taken. These terms were accepted by Vaea and Fohe, the two leading chiefs of the town, whereupon orders were issued for the total suspension of hostilities; and an hour on the following day was appointed, when the vanquished chiefs were to be brought before the king at his camp near Bea.

798 On the 12th of July, the camp of the Christians
669 presented a stirring spectacle. Drums were beat-
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ing merrily, and shouts of triumph rent the air, to 798
the great dismay of the enemy in Bea, who had 669
received intelligence of the fall of Houma. The 728
loyal troops were drawn up in two long lines,
extending from the spot where the king and his
chief men were seated, to the road by which the
Houman chiefs were expected to approach.

At mid-day, Vaca and Fohe, accompanied by
several younger chiefs, approached the king. They
were clothed in old mats and tattered garments, [291]
with the usual garlands of *ifi* leaves round their [301]
necks, expressive of deep humiliation, and of
expected punishment. They walked slowly along
between the lines of armed men, in charge of a [516]
guard; but, when within a short distance of the
king, they seemed overpowered by their fears, and
placed themselves in the most submissive attitude,
with hands clasped before them, and heads bent
down toward the ground. Notwithstanding the
promise of safety which they had received, they
appeared to expect that the signal for death
might be given at any moment. In the midst,
however, of profound silence, the king's herald
proclaimed that it was his pleasure that the
prisoners should put off the *ifi* leaves from their
necks, that being the signal that they had obtained
mercy. *Kava* was then prepared, and the rebel [276]
chiefs were commanded to assume their accustomed
place of rank in the circle of chiefs. This
was an additional and most unexpected evidence of
the king's clemency. That their lives should have
been spared was a great boon; but that their rank
should be continued was more than they could have
expected, or could have felt that they deserved.

After the ceremony was over, the king ordered

798 the men to be detained within his own camp during
669 the night, where they received the most hospitable
728 entertainment. But what formed the crowning glory of the day was the fact that, when the hour for evening devotions arrived, these pardoned rebels felt themselves constrained, by a strong sense of the truth and excellency of religion, to unite with their friends in bowing the knee in prayer before the great Jehovah.

798 On the following day, Vaea and Fohe returned
to Houma, with a proclamation of free pardon for
669 all the inhabitants, and a promise that none of
727 their property should be destroyed or injured. At
728 the same time, the town was to be held by a party of the king's men, until his further pleasure should be declared, as to the destruction, or otherwise, of its fortifications.

On the following Sunday, I visited the fort,
797 arrangements having been made for holding a religious service, at which Vaea and Fohe wished to be present. Before commencing the service, the people had arranged for a grand fusillade in honour of the peace, and in testimony of their joy at abandoning heathenism. Volley after volley
[202] rent the air, for a considerable time; but, at a given signal, the firing ceased, and the drum, in
[534] the absence of a bell, having been beaten for public worship, I preached to a very large congregation of half-enlightened heathens. At this single service above one hundred persons formally renounced idolatry; and, from that day, regular Christian means of grace were established in Houma.

798 Meanwhile, the Bea fortress was besieged more
669 closely than ever. Had not its inmates been still
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sustained by the hope of French aid, held out by 798
the priests, the fall of Houma would most likely 669
have been followed by their own immediate sur- 726
render. Instead of this, they continued defiant in tone, and boastful, in the highest degree. The king, however, was all the more resolved, that the appearance of any French ship of war should be the signal for an instant and overwhelming attack upon the Beans; which, if it had unhappily taken place, would probably have ended in their complete extermination.

On Sunday, the 8th of August, I was preaching at the camp of the Hihifo men, who, after the submission of Houma, removed to Bea to complete its investment. Intelligence came from the king, as the service was closing, that a ship of war was off the island; that it was yet uncertain to what nation it belonged; but that every man was to be at his post, ready to advance against the enemy's works, and to storm the place, from all sides, the moment it could be ascertained that the long-expected French ship had come. It was a solemn and most exciting time and scene. On the following morning, however, the ship came to anchor; and, instead of an enemy, proved to be a friend. It was H.B.M.S. "Calliope," commanded by Sir Everard Home, Bart., senior commander of H.M. ships on the Sydney and New Zealand naval stations, and who himself was a personal friend of
King George. By his advice, after hearing the 798
state of affairs, the king made another and final 669
offer of peace, on the same terms of personal safety 728
that had been offered to Houma, but with a distinct [643]
stipulation for the entire demolition of the defences of the town. This offer was accompanied by a letter

798 to the French priests from the English commander,
669 stating his knowledge of the fact that, should this
728 offer of peace fail, the fortress would be stormed by
the Tonguese, and would most assuredly be taken.
In these circumstances, he offered them an asylum
on board his ship. This offer the priests declined,
signifying at the same time their willingness to abide
the result. The fears, however, of the rebel chiefs
were now considerably aroused; and their eyes
were also opened to see, to some extent, the folly
of trusting to French intervention. They accordingly
determined to surrender at discretion. Maafu
and Lavaka, the two leading chiefs, then came from
Bea to meet the king, and to arrange the mode of
submission. They intended to return immediately
when the business was completed; but the king
desired them to remain in his camp for the night,
as a precaution against any treachery.

On the following morning, Sir Everard Home,
798 Mr. Adams, and myself, visited Bea. When about
669 halfway to the king's encampment, we met messengers
727 posting down to Nukualofa, with the news
797 that Bea was then being sacked. Upon hearing
this, we rode forward with all speed, fearing lest
the Christian party might be hurried into excesses,
over which we should have to mourn. We resolved
at all hazards to do our best to prevent bloodshed.
Within half an hour after the king's army had
taken possession of Bea, we entered it, and immediately
[643] sought for the king. We found him busy
repressing the excitement of his men, and engaged
in placing a guard for the protection of the property
and houses of the French priests. There was
great commotion, and already the town was set on
798 fire in several localities. It appeared that early in

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the morning, the Vavauans had observed one of 798
the gates of the fort almost unguarded, upon which 669
they immediately advanced with their entire force. 727
Gaining an easy access, they called out to the few 726
Beans, who seemed disposed to dispute their progress, not to fire, and all would be well. No shots, therefore, were exchanged. The heathen, in fact, were thoroughly surprised and panic-stricken. The Vavauans then raised the shout of victory, which being heard by all the rest of the king's warriors outside, a general rush was made on the place from all points, even before the real cause of
the movement was ascertained. The king himself 798
was at breakfast when intelligence was brought that 669
the Vavau people were masters of the fort. No 727
lives were lost on either side in the rush that took 643
place; but an immediate sacking and destruction of houses began, which was only quelled by the immense personal exertions and authority of the king. We also did our utmost, along with Sir Everard Home, in aiding his majesty to restrain the passions of the conquerors. Mr. Adams and myself assisted in saving the effects of the French priests from the destructive advance of the fire, which had already destroyed many houses, and was rapidly approaching their large chapel and personal residence. Happily these were preserved almost without injury, through the indefatigable exertions of the king and a number of his own men. Before the day closed, all danger as to the perpetration of any atrocities upon the vanquished was over; and we felt that, after the noble display of Christian forbearance shown by the king, and by the whole Christian army under his command, we might return to Nukualofa, to sleep in peace.

797 We praised God for what the Gospel had done, in the
798 restraint of evil passions, which formerly, on such
669 an occasion, would have rioted in deeds of violence
727 and blood.

On the following day, a speech was made by the
798 king, in which he ordered the demolition of the
669 fortifications of Bea, as the only punishment to be
727 inflicted upon the vanquished, and as a pledge that
war should no more desolate the land, if he could prevent it. All were commanded to return to their various homes as speedily as possible, and to resume the ordinary pursuits of peaceful times.

Thus closed, without further bloodshed, a struggle that had been begun with the design of overturning civil authority and order in the Friendly Islands; but which, under the over-ruling providence of God, was destined to prove a death-blow to heathenism. The wisdom and clemency of the
(643) king, both during the war and at its happy conclusion, won for him the respect and love of even his bitterest foes. Bright days of peace and prosperity once more dawned upon Tongatabu. The wild passions that had been aroused in the heat of conflict speedily subsided. Deserted villages were filled again with the hum of busy life. The quiet pursuits of home life and industry were resumed; and a new and promising start was made by the Tonguese in national progress, such as they had never made before. The idols were now utterly
[797] abolished. Not one heathen temple remained; and, not many months after the war terminated, the entire population of the Friendly Islands acknowledged and worshipped the "one living and true God, and Jesus Christ whom He hath sent."

797 It could not be expected that five months of
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political agitation, and of actual civil war, should 797
pass away without inflicting serious damage upon 794
the spiritual character,. and interests, of our infant
churches. The evil effects were painfully shown
in the impaired tone of piety in many, the unset-
tledness of others, and the drifting away from the
church of those who had more of the form than of
the power of godliness. Diminution of numbers,—
not so much, however, in Tongatabu itself as in
the other groups of islands,—and of local finances,
were the natural results of such a state of things,
for a season. These serious evils were also ag-
gravated by scarcity of provisions, and prevailing
sickness, caused by the exposure and toil to which
so many thousands of the male inhabitants had
been subjected. The return of peace was hailed, 797
therefore, by all with unfeigned delight; and we [728)
rejoiced, most of all, because the whole country was
now open to receive Christian instruction. There
was only one cause of anxiety still remaining. The 797
French Priests were restless, and were openly bent 798
upon further mischief. The priest who went away
during the war to seek French aid, returned in a
small trading vessel from Samoa; and when he
found the war ended, declared that he would
have ample reparation in due time. He subse- [648)
quently departed for Tahiti, where he lodged certain
charges and claims, against the Tonguese, before
the French Governor.

Accordingly, on the 12th of November, 1852, a 798
French ship of war, "La Moselle," commanded by 648
Captain Belland, anchored off Nukualofa. The
same priest who had gone to Tahiti was on board.
We were told, by one of the respectable officers of
the ship that this priest had been careful, during the

798 648 voyage, to impress the commander with the conviction that stubborn resistance might be expected from the Tonguese. On approaching the land, he also drew the attention of the officers to a number of people, scattered along the reef skirting the shore, assuring them that he had no doubt these were armed men waiting to resist any attempt at landing. This led the captain to beat the men to quarters, and to shot all his guns. When, however, they had approached sufficiently near, they discovered that the people lining the reef were only some old women quietly seeking for shell-fish! The captain was both angry and mortified that he should have lent himself to such idle tales; and the priest, poor man, hardly knew where to hide himself from the bantering of the midshipmen and others, who, but for his clerical garb, would have criticized his conduct rather more freely than he would have relished.

On Tuesday, the 16th, a formal investigation of all the circumstances attending the origin, conduct, and close of the war took place. Captain Belland had been specially commissioned by the Governor of Tahiti to conduct the inquiry, and to take such steps as he might deem proper in reference to the claims advanced by the French priests for pecuniary damages, &c. Mr. Adams, not having been in
[797] Tonga when the war began, desired me to be present on behalf of the Missionaries, and by the request of the king. The whole conference occupied nearly five hours. Every particular in relation to the war was rigidly examined, especially in regard to the course the king had pursued toward the French priests. On every point Captain Belland seemed satisfied. The king was armed
[643] with abundant documentary evidence, and proved

himself a capital diplomatist. A noted man in the South Seas, called Charlie France, interpreted. He did his duty fairly, upon the whole; but in two or three instances an attempt was made to misconstrue the words both of Captain Belland and those of the king. Of course I took exception to his interpretations, when a frown and caution from the commandant, who seemed to know his man, and who was determined not to be trifled with, had a salutary effect. At the conclusion of the inquiry, Captain Belland desired me to say to the king that he was perfectly satisfied with his entire conduct. "Tell him," said he, "that I have seen and conversed with many chiefs, in the South Sea Islands, but I have never met his equal. The French have acknowledged his authority by directing me to him as supreme ruler in Tonga. He must, however, employ his authority in protecting all foreigners from insult, and must allow his subjects to choose what religion they please; but all must submit to the law of the land. Tell him also that, should any Frenchman be guilty, in future, of such intermeddling with his government as has been proved orally in this case, he has only to procure proper documentary evidence of the fact, and the French Government will not fail promptly to punish the offender, by his removal from the country, or otherwise, whether he be a priest or merely a layman." As an evidence that Captain Belland was in earnest, and of the estimate he had formed of the conduct of the priests, he refused to permit M. Calignon to return to Bea, or even to reside on any part of Tongatabu. Accordingly, he carried this priest back with him to Tahiti. So fully convinced was the Commissioner of the blamelessness of King

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798 648 George that, although he held in his possession a documentary claim for heavy pecuniary compensation, on behalf of the Roman Catholic Missionaries, for damages to their property, he never submitted this claim to the king, nor did he ask for a single farthing on their behalf.

797 Thus being freed, for a time at least, from the fear of foreign interference in Tonguese affairs, the Gospel ministered by the Missionaries had free course among the people, and was glorified. New villages sprung up in different localities, where chapels were dedicated to the worship of God. The inhabitants of Bea itself, who, for the most part, had before embraced Popery, as well as the remnant who were still heathen, formed part of our regular congregations, while many of them became sincere seekers of salvation by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.

In the eastern end of the island access was obtained for preaching purposes to every place, excepting the Popish village of Kotoga, and another over which the heathen brother of Tugi had authority. In my own district, including Houma, the profession of Christianity was universal, and there were numerous instances of true conversion. Tonga alone had now 37 chapels, 2,035 church members, 60 day schools, containing 2,204 scholars, and a training institution for native Teachers and Assistant Missionaries, from which, shortly after the close of the war, seventeen students were appointed to schools in various islands, after completing a three years' course of study, while fourteen new students were admitted.

The above numbers, however, include those connected with the islands of Atata, Eueiki, and Eua.

539
they were told I was going to burn the sacred tree. 797
They then said, 'O, let these worshippers alone. 643
They will soon know the evil that will come of it. 539
Taufa, the chief of Nomuka, has come to Malubo, 797
that they may agree with Tuita and Lolohea, to 798
sieze Taufa-ahau, while they slay the Christians.' 643
The women also told this to Samuela Toto, who
brought the report to me, that we were to be murdered,
while the king was held a prisoner. I then
instantly wrote a letter to the king. This happened [527]
on a great heathen feast-day, when all the people were [541]
assembled to witness games of boxing and wrestling, and other heathen practices. Upon receiving the letter, the king sent a message to those who were considered Christians, requesting their presence without delay. When all had come, he addressed them thus: 'This letter tells me, forsooth, that I am to be taken and bound fast, by order of the chiefs, while you are to be slain because you have begun to pray. Now, then, I tell you, let every man among you go and kill each his pig, and feast himself, and cut up his *gatu*, (or native cloth,) and put on his best dress. And let none of you be mischievous or evil-disposed; but come all of you together this afternoon, and I will join with you in prayer.' With this understanding we separated, and I went away to the village of Holobeka. But I had not been long there, when a man came running in to order me back to Lifuka. The chiefs had been informed of the king's speech, and of his intention to join the Christians; and they were now met to find out who had told the king what they intended to do to himself and to the Christians. Suspicion fell on me. When I got back, I found the investigation was concluded. Some of the

539 797 798 643 chiefs had already left; but others were still sitting talking over the whole affair. When they saw me approach, one said, 'Well, you have come, have you? It must, then, be nothing but a bag of old wives' tales.' But another said, 'Not so. Why do we stand idly by talking nonsense? This fellow is the mischief-maker. Had he been a foreigner, we might have borne with him; but as he is only a Tonga man, who will be contented to endure this thing that is done? He is a rogue.' Turning to the last speaker, I said, 'Hear me! Axes and knives are things which foreigners have to give us; but religion is the gift of Jehovah, the God of heaven and earth.' Upon this, Taufa-ahau also spoke, and began to tell about Jesus Christ, when the chief rose in anger, and left the company. Thus, there and then, did Taufa-ahau publicly declare his Christianity; after which he went straight away and destroyed many idols, and idol-houses, in Lifuka, and in several of the other islands of Haabai. At the same time, also, he commanded Mafileo to sail for Tonga, to bring Mr. Thomas, the Missionary, who was now leaving Hihifo.

539 797 484 "Accordingly, I went with Mafileo to Tonga, to carry the good news, and to bring Mr. Thomas to Haabai. We sailed from Haano in a *kalia* called the 'Tausala.' Having embarked Mr. Thomas from Tonga, we started on our return to Haabai; but the wind was so strong we had to turn aside, and anchor at Atata. Here the heathen who were on board became very angry, exclaiming that the wind was bad, because we were on board, and because we had forsaken the worship of the god Laukite. After being detained a long time in Tonga, we at length sailed, and arrived in Haabai.

797 close of 1832, there were fourteen in operation, in
871 which the inhabitants were taught to read and
177 write. In these schools, there were more than two
thousand persons under instruction, of every age and from all classes of the community, from the child of three years to the man of grey hairs, and from the king himself to the meanest of his serfs.

The island of Uiha was the only place where any
797 serious opposition was met. Containing, as it did,
798 the burial grounds of the kings and chiefs of the
[764] group, this place was the stronghold of heathen
worship, and, for a time, the fear and respect which
[643] its chiefs had for Taufa-ahau, did not deter them
from clinging to it. They even thought that he
[669] had betrayed his country by leaving heathenism
for Christ, and they, therefore, took up arms to
resist his authority. Some of these opponents
[602] were the king's near kinsmen, and had been, up to
that time, his closest friends. By prudent but firm and necessary measures, Uiha was at last brought back to its allegiance to the king; and, shortly afterwards, the whole range of the Haabai archipelago lay, a peaceful and glorious trophy, at the Saviour's feet.

797 Passing over all the intervening years, during which the advancement of religion in Haabai was simultaneous with that of the Friendly Islands at large, there were in that particular group, when we arrived in 1853,—22 chapels, 1,850 church members, 55 day schools, 2,075 scholars. These results had not been attained without immense and untiring labour on the part of my predecessors. The names of Messrs. John Thomas, Peter Turner, William Cross, John Watkin, Richard B. Lyth, Stephen Rabone, Charles Tucker, William Webb,

26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9

The existence in Haapai of inanimate representatives 778
of gods, shaped in human form, is established by the 532
documentary evidence of the missionary, John Williams, 127
who visited the Tongan group in 1830. At that time, Haapai 631
was subject to the authority of Taufaahau, who afterward 643
became ruler of the whole Tongan group with the title
of George Tupou I. Taufaahau, according to Williams,[6] 643
had despised the Tongan system of worship from his youth 797
and, coming in contact with missionaries during a visit
to Tongatabu, he resolved to abandon the gods of his
ancestors. On his return to Haapai, he "commenced the [798]
work of destruction upon the gods and maraes." Williams 114
had come to Tonga after work carried on in the Society 346
and Cook groups and by "marae" he meant the Tongan
house temple. His misuse of the term "marae" must not
be regarded as evidence that the *marae* form of religious
structure was present in Tonga. An opposing faction 798
determined to celebrate a religious festival in honour of 643
the gods whom Taufaahau was desecrating. Williams[7]
wrote as follows:

> "Taufaahau, resolving to anticipate and neutralize this movement, [778]
> drove a large herd of pigs into the sacred enclosure, converted a
> most beautiful little temple, which stood in the middle of it, into
> a sleeping appartment for his female servants, and suspended the
> gods by the neck to the rafters of the house in which they had
> been adored. The idolators, ignorant of his proceedings, came, with 798
> great ceremony, attended by their priests, to present their offerings, 778
> and found, to their astonishment, a number of voracious pigs, ready
> to devour anything they had to offer; and the gods, disrobed of
> their apparel, hanging in degradation, like so many condemned
> criminals."

The worshippers retired in indignation but evidently
did not attempt to cut down the gods from their elevated
position. Taufaahau conducted Williams to the building 798
and Williams[8] continues: 643

> "On observing five goddesses hanging by the neck, I requested 778
> this intrepid chief to give me one of them, which he immediately
> cut down and presented to me. I have brought it to England, with
> the very string around its neck by which it was hung."

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[6] Williams, John, *Missionary Enterprises*, London, 1839, p. 273. [113]

[7] Williams, *Opt. cit.*, pp. 273, 274.

[8] Williams, *Opt. cit.*, p. 275.

27: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1937 OU9 Tonga OU9

# ADDITIONAL WOODEN IMAGES FROM TONGA

By Te Rangi Hiroa,
Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii.

114 IN a previous paper,[1] describing wooden and whale-ivory
237 images from Tonga, reference was made to two wooden
images in the private collection of Mr. W. O. Oldman of
121 London. After the paper appeared, Mr. Oldman sent me
photographs and details of the two images mentioned and
237 of a third unique image that had come into his possession
after I saw the other two in 1933. Just as this paper was
being written, Mr. Oldman sent me a further photograph,
of a whale-ivory image that is also in his collection.
Mr. Oldman has kindly given me permission to reproduce
the four additional images and so make the series of Tongan
images up to date for the information of students of
Polynesian culture.

532 Two of the wooden images and the ivory one are in
the erect position with pendent arms, but the third wooden
237 image shows a unique departure in being carved in the
sitting position. The taller of the erect images is shown
in fig. 1.

The resemblance of fig. 1 to the figure in Williams'
work[2] is so great that they seem to represent the same
643 image. The presence of the cord around the neck in both
figures gives further support, but all doubt as to identity
798 is dispelled by the written inscription on the back which
532 reads as follows: "Goddess of Lifuga hung by Tafahau
on embracing Christianity. Hapai, July 1830."

Lifuga (Lifuka) is the principal island in the Haapai group where in 1830 John Williams met Tafaahau who later became George Tubou I of Tonga. It was on that occasion that Tafaahau[3] cut down one of the five goddesses suspended by their necks from the roof of a house and

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[1] Te Rangi Hiroa, "Material Representation of Tongan and Samoan Gods"; *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 44, p. 12, 1935.

[2] Williams, John, *Missionary Enterprises*, London, 1839, p. 274 (also *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 44, p. 10).

[3] Williams, John, *Missionary Enterprises*, London, 1839, p. 275.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 76]

27: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1937 OU9 Tonga OU9

643 gave it to Williams. It is probable that the inscription on
798 the back of the image figured was written by John Williams
532 himself.

The second erect figure is shorter than the one described
532 but is much wider across the shoulders. The top of the
head is somewhat flattened from side to side, but in other
details it corresponds closely to fig. 1. See fig. 2.

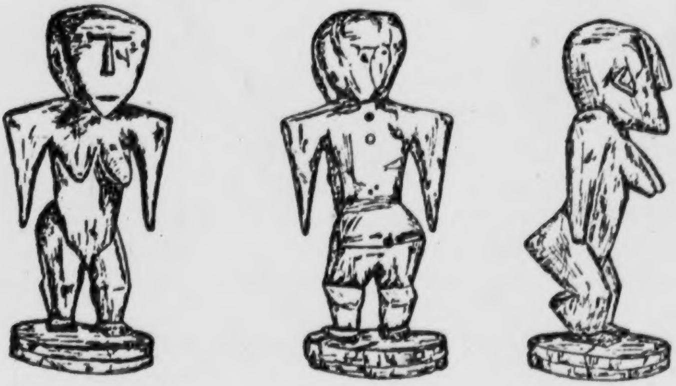

FIG. 2.

TONGAN WOODEN IMAGE

Oldman collection, number 531. Height, 13ins.; shoulder width, 6.25ins. As compared with fig. 1, the flat vertex of the head, the wider and squarer shoulders, and shorter thighs are noticeable variations. The flat face, pointed chin, eyes, mouth, nose, and ears are similar and so are the short neck, pointed shoulders, pendent arms, prominent pointed breasts, slim body with posterior axillary edge, flat abdomen, and projecting gluteal region and calves with horizontal mesial edges. Some slight pitting occurs in the wood in the umbilical region; it does not appear to be a purposive attempt to define the navel-depression.

The raised pubic triangle present in fig. 1 is absent. The lower outer edge of the hand-terminal is notched with four incisions to represent five fingers with the thumb to the front. The feet are represented by low flat pieces projecting at the outer sides as well as the back; the right foot is notched in four places on the front which extend the depth of the shallow front surface while the left has four slight notches on the upper edge of the front surface; each foot is thus represented with five toes. The figure and pedestal are cut out of one piece of wood.

The Fuller image and the ivory figures in the British Museum previously described were much more realistic than the two Oldman images, and but for Mr. Oldman's kindness in making further information available an erroneous standard for Tongan art would have been created. It will

27: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1937 OU9 Tonga OU9

532 [776] [643] [798] The original label that went with the sitting image reads as follows: "Household Goddess of the Emperor of Tonga and part of the dress worn by him when he worshipped the Devil." The label confirms the locality of the image, and, as Tafaahau became the ruler of Tonga, the image evidently formed one of the group that Tafaahau abandoned in 1830. It is the only image that I know of that has been carved in a sitting position and is hence unique. In spite of the mutilation, the lines of the body and the thighs show good workmanship.

The ivory image is thus described by Mr. Oldman in his letter: "Very old and much worn with handling, stained a deep orange-yellow of beautiful tone and with symmetrical deeper coloured markings on front of body and lower legs and on posterior. Arm has been fractured. I consider it one of the finest little gems I possess." A line drawing of the print is shown in fig. 4.

The Oldman ivory image, while typically Tongan, is not quite so realistic in treatment as the largest ivory image in the British Museum or the Fuller wooden image. From the treatment of the eyes and the comparatively wide width of the shoulders, it stands between these more realistic images and the more conventionalized types in the Oldman collection shown in figs. 1 and 2.

292 The dress worn by Tafaahau when he took part in the religious service of his own culture, rather snobbishly described as "worshipping the devil," consisted of bark cloth, and from its narrow width it was evidently a sash or a perineal band *(malo)*. As specimens of cloth of authentic early manufacture should be regarded as type specimens for future study, a drawing made from Mr. Oldman's photograph is shown in fig. 5, *a*.

411 531 Mr. Oldman included in his pictures, two clubs with projecting bosses on the expanded heads of the clubs. These bosses are shaped in a form similar to the flat faces with pointed chins of the Tongan images, and they have elongated triangular projections which correspond in position and shape to the noses of the images. Though eyes and mouth are not represented, I agree with Mr. Oldman in his opinion that this conventionalized motive has been derived from the faces of the Tongan images. It is probable, therefore,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 80]

177 With the progressive infusion of western thoughts,
values and attitudes into Tonga beginning about 200
years ago, the prevailing religious, social, cultural
and political organization did gradually change, and
[181] significantly so. It has been noted that the
Polynesians have always been, in general, an
open-minded, forward-looking people, eager to
adopt new ideas[26]—and it was this way of thinking
(Tongans being no exception to the rule) which
encouraged many changes within the Tongan
society.

One very apparent change came in the realm of
177 religion. With the spread of Christianity and its
797 doctrine of monotheism, Tonga's basis of social
[784] control had to be totally revamped, for she found
herself devoid of the supernatural sanctions (fear of
[671] the gods) and system of taboos which had formerly
maintained the balance between good and evil in the
polytheistic society of early Tonga.

643 In 1830, the recently-converted chief Taufa'ahau
(later to become King George Taufa'ahau Tupou I),
798 a crusader for the cause of Christianity, went about
[797] desecrating the gods and gods' houses. John Williams
of the London Missionary Society witnessed young
Taufa'ahau contemptuously hang some wooden
god-images (see accompanying photo) in Ha'apai out

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
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of blatant disrespect for the traditional Tongan religion, and described the scene in the following way:

> "Taufaahau returned to his dominions [Ha'apai], and immediately commenced the work of destruction upon the gods and the *maraes* [reference to sacred structures]. Having effected this at his own island [Lifuka], he proceeded through the group [Ha'apai], exhorting and persuading the chiefs and inhabitants to follow his example. His efforts were successful in all the islands, with the exception of three or four; the chiefs and

[p.49-C]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
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people of which were exceedingly indignant at such impious innovations, and resolved, if possible, to counteract the effects of his unprecedented conduct. For this purpose, they determined to celebrate a great festival, in honour of the gods whom the chief was then desecrating; and accordingly sent their fishermen to catch turtle and other sacred fish. Taufaahau, resolving to anticipate and neutralize this movement, drove a large herd of pigs into the sacred enclosure, converted a

[p.50-A]

643 most beautiful little temple, which stood in the middle of it, into a sleeping apartment for his
798 female servants, and suspended the gods by the neck to the rafters of the house in which they had been adored! The idolaters, ignorant of his proceedings, came, with great ceremony, attended by their priests, to present their offerings, and found, to their astonishment, a number of voracious pigs, ready to devour any thing they had to offer; and the gods, disrobed of their apparel, hanging in degradation, like so

[p. 50-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 51A]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

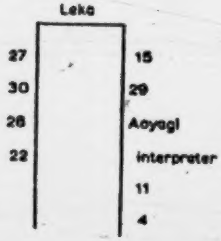
643 many condemned criminals . . . On observing
798 five goddesses hanging by the neck, I requested this intrepid chief to give me one of them, which he immediately cut down and presented to me."[27]

177 Before too long, although not without struggling, Tonga had resolved the majority of her internal problems which came, among other ways, with the

This fact suggests partly that there is no system into which all the people 554
who were gathering at the circle recognised. 593

While I was staying there, I happened to be invited to a feast at the 602
end of the year given by the second son of Pualiki, at which most of the 276
villagers were present. The following Fig. 6 is the table showing the 585
seat arrangement. People took their seats around the long *pola* (food 574
tray made of coconut leaves). Leka sat in the front of the *pola*, on either [123]
side of which the officers of the church sat down. The other people, I
was told, might sit down freely anywhere. Among the ten persons, namely 574
Leka and the church officers, 27 belongs to the Free Church of Tonga, 576
15 to the Mormons, 11 to the Catholic, and all the rest are the members 795
of the Free Wesleyan Church. The speech at this feast was given by 554 554 574
Leka, first, followed by 15 (*matapule* of the Queen), 1, Pualiki's wife, 30 576
(town officer) and 29. In spite of the fact that 11 is the elder brother of [537]
15 and 15's *ulu i famili,* his seat is lower in the seat order than 15's. It
is also incomprehensible why 11 who is a steward of the Catholic Church
took such a low seat compared with the *malanga* of the other churches who
were invited to the places of honour.(30) From 30 to 32 are all *malanga* [561]
of the Free Wesleyan Church who sat in order of the age. Whereas 29
is young, he is highly respected by people as a steward of the Free
Wesleyan Church and always occupies a seat next to Leka in the meeting
of church members.(31) In short, the internal rank of the villagers based 574
on the kinship structure was not reflected in the feast at all, but the 554
rank in the church such as *malanga* and *faifekau* was highly esteemed, 621
and one's age or administrative or honourable status such as town officer 794
or *matapule* were considered among those *malanga* and *faifefau.*(32) It is 561
easy to see that the *malanga* of the church took the places of honour [796]
because this feast which was given as a church function was dedicated to
God. Nevertheless, this was the only occasion in which an outsider could
know the rank of the villagers.

FIG.6 Seat-ordering at a fakaafe



[123]

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30. Professor Newell suggested to me that the antagonism between Catholics and Protestants may explain this in part. [798]
31. For instance, in *fakaafe* hosted by no. 28 on the day of Christmas nos. 6 (Leka), 5 and 30 (town officer) seated along one side of the *pola* in this order. On the other side of it no. 29 seated facing No. 6.
32. For example, in *fono,* village council, the villagers gather to sit choosing any place around the town officer who conveys the Government instruction. [623]

621 New Year's Eve and a week of feasting in the first week of
794 the new year.
[574]

The Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga have [574] a weekly schedule of services similar to that of the Free Wesleyan Church, and a similar routine on Sundays but without a congregational feast each week. There is less emphasis on communal feasting in these denominations, possibly because the congregations are not large enough to [574] support such activities on a regular basis. However, they do have feasts and other special activities at certain times of the year, such as at Christmas, Easter, and New Year.

621 In contrast to the frequency and intensity of 794 activity within each congregation, there are no inter- 798 denominational events at the local level. In other words, the different congregations in the village do not interact with one another qua congregation. On the contrary, the mutual posture of the different congregations appears to be one of tolerant avoidance when it is not an attitude of studied indifference to the fact of the others' existence. While, on the national level, the various denominations are sometimes bitterly if mutedly antagonistic, there are few signs of competition between denominations at the local level. For example, the proselytizing activities of the Mormon and Free Wesleyan churches are never carried out

621 794 798 in the person's home village.[6] Thus there is seldom an occasion to confront the fact that there are differences of denominational affiliation within the village.

Doctrinal differences among the denominations are seldom discussed within the village, not even among members of the same denomination. If asked, an informant would undoubtedly affirm the superiority of the doctrines of his/her own denomination, but the point is that comparisons of doctrine are seldom made, nor do people seriously [262] deprecate the beliefs of others. The only common exception to the general appearance of inter-denominational tolerance in Motulahi is that Seventh Day Adventists are occasionally spoken of derisively as kai-kosi (goat eaters), a reference to the fact that they do not eat pork, the primary status food in Tonga. In addition, snide remarks are sometimes made about Mormon activities such as full-time proselytizing, genealogical research, and costume parties, all of which are perceived as being most unTongan and peculiarly Mormon. Some members of the Free Wesleyan Church in Motulahi assert that the Mormon Church is not a truly Protestant church, and a few go so far as to say that the Mormon religion is not a true Christian religion (which is a particularly shocking thing to say in Tonga). However, I suspect that

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[6] These activities are described in Decktor Korn 1977.

621 many of these remarks are caused by resentment at the
794 success of the Mormon Church in gaining new adherents.
778 Moreover, while there is some ill-feeling towards the
Mormon Church as an institution, there is no condemnation of particular individuals merely because they belong to the Mormon Church. People are far more critical of those who show little involvement at all in the activities of any congregation than they are of any persons for being adherents of a particular denomination.

## Church Membership and Status-striving Activities

794 It is a religious duty to participate in congrega-
[775] tional and denominational activities, with damnation in
[626] the afterlife and public disapproval on earth as sanctions
[554] for attendance. Besides this, however, congregational activities are important social events, providing an arena within which individuals engage in status-striving activities.

602 The majority of village women, of all denominations,
562 spend most of their free time among kin, either at their
[512] own homes or visiting at the homes of close kinswomen.
[461] When a woman organizes a work party, for example, women of the local kin group with which she is affiliated will
562 form the basis of the work party. Similarly, young men
517
883

> 276 Ceremony) from the whole of the [Island] Group. . . . After the *Kava*
> Ceremony came the presentation of food. This was Tubouto'a's mark of
> 574 homage and allegiance to the Sovereign, and is a relic of the old custom
> of the "Inasi" (presentation of the first fruits of the land to the Tu'i
> 644 Toga) (Anonymous 1938:43-44).

[651] An excellent description of the installation of the individual who was to
276 become known as King George Tupou I is provided by John Thomas and
574 points out the "seal of approval" in the ceremony of drinking *kava*:

> 644 The ceremony of appointing to [the] office [of *Tu'i Kanokupolu*]
> 643 took place at a cava-meeting. The cava has been considered sacred; and
> ALMOST EVERYTHING TO BE SETTLED IN THESE ISLANDS IS
> DONE AT A CAVA MEETING, at which great order is observed
> [STRESS added] (Thomas 1845:156).

554 In aboriginal Tongan society (and early contacted Tongan society prior to the
565 celebrated Tongan Constitution of 1875) consensus and flexibility were key
concepts in the relationship between the ruler and the ruled (Urbanowicz
1973:114-115). An individual who wanted to be a chief of a particular group
of people had to have not only the consent of the people but also of the
[643] fellow chiefs. Even the *Tu'i Tonga*, one of the leading titled individuals in
Tongan society, could not be appointed to his position without the support
and consent of the *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua* or (later) the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*. If a
particular chief did not have the support of other chiefs, he could lose his
title and position in Tongan society.

In 1840, some battles took place on Tongatapu which resulted in two
558 chiefs having their titles removed. The *Tu'i Kanokupolu* Jiosaia Tupou and
727 King George Tupou met and Thomas recorded the event:

> 565 After this [meeting] the two Kings met with their chiefs and did
> depose Ata and another chief [called by the title] Vahi (the latter has
> been the cause of the wars) and appointed a new Ata and Vahai in their
> place (Thomas *Journal*: February 14, 1830).

The former *Ata* had land on Tongatapu Island and this was also removed
from him and transferred to the new *Ata* (Rabone *Journal*: February 28,
[276] 1840). Although there is no extant evidence which specifically mentions the
[574] *kava* ceremony which accompanied this particular "title removal" it
undoubtedly took place. The following account makes this clear concerning
558 another individual who lost his title at another point in time because of his
798 Wesleyan beliefs:

> 276 This morning about 1 o'clock we were aroused from a sleep by a
> 574 messenger from Beka where the [Wesleyan] Chapel was opened last
> week, who came to say that a persecuting party had arrived there, and
> they supposed it was to dispose of [the titled individual known as]
> Tuivakano for having embraced Christianity, and drove the Christian
> party from their homes. Messengers have been going to Beka, and

> coming to our Chief all day to state how things were going on. Old 558
> Vaea of Houma was the principal person in the Party, AND AFTER 798
> CEREMONIES OF DRINKING KAVA WERE BEGUN, HE STATED
> THAT HIS OBJECT WAS TO APPOINT ANOTHER TUIVAKANO 276
> because this one had embraced Christianity, and that as he himself had 574
> not embraced Christianity he wished still to have a Tuivakano that he might serve. (This with other observations make me think that the affair is not only a Chiefdom, but somewhat Idolatrous). He wished to be understood as not intending any persecution, but as only anxious to follow up the former service of the Gods, and that as there were some Idolatrous houses in the fortifications, he thought proper that William [Tui'i Vakano] should leave it lest any disrespect should be shown or violence be used to the Idol temples, if the term be not too grand for them. THEY THEREFORE PREPARED THE KAVA WHICH WAS TO BE DRUNK AT THE CEREMONY OF HIS DISMISSAL FROM THE OFFICE, AND CHIEFDOM, AND THE APPOINTMENT OF HIS SUCCESSOR. The Kava is always taken to the persons composing the Party by particular direction of the principal person in the company; and when the waiter gave notice that the bowl was full, old Vaea said "Let Vaea mo Mataello Tuivakano (former name) go down and let Tuivakano come up. THIS WAS THE OFFICIAL SENTENCE WHICH CONSTITUTED HIM NO LONGER TUIVAKANO AND HE INSTANTLY LEFT FOR ANOTHER PART OF THE KAVA RING. Soon after this, old Maafu and Lavaka two chiefs still heathen [or non-Wesleyan], who made the greatest figure in the persecution last year, arrived at the fortifications, and this evening we have heard that Vaea mo Mataele NOW NO LONGER TUIVAKANO shall leave Beka, with all the Christian people [All STRESS added] (Hobbs *Journal*: September 12, 1835).

Not only were individuals installed as leaders in Tongan society or removed 425
from their positions of authority at a *kava* ceremony, but land was also 276
apportioned out in aboriginal times during certain *kava* ceremonies. As 574
another nineteenth century Wesleyan Missionary reported: 634

> This has been a very important day. At the *Kava* ring this morning, two or three Malagas, or speeches were delivered, after which the whole island [of Tongatapu] was divided into different provinces and persons appointed to govern in subjection to the King [*Tu'i Kanokupolu* Jiosaia Tupou]. This is an ancient custom revived (Tucker 1837).[5]

The various *kava* ceremonies in aboriginal Tongan society served a 276
variety of purposes. *Kava* ceremonies could be held just to share information
and opinions but they also served to provide a "seal of approval" on more 574
important functions, such as title installation or removal or the division of 178
land. The drinking of *kava* always was an important aspect of Tongan life and over the years has been the major way in which Tongans have shared and
discussed social activities. *Kava* drinking has been the way that Tongans [186]
maintained their own cultural identity in the face of cultural (namely "religious") colonialism.

68: Cummins

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●798

[For additional information on religious intolerance, see category 669.]

68: Cummins H-4 (no date) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

~~the person~~ of Jesus Christ.[23] At least one missionary devised a novel method 797
of teaching against 'some of the prevailing evils and their consequences'. 577
James Watkin's catechism, used on Sundays and almost certainly in the 872
schools, included the following questions and answers: 779

> Who are they who love war?
> Answer: The true sons of the Devil.
> Who are they that seek war?
> Answer: Wild beasts thirsting for blood.[24]

Before 1833, therefore, there was nothing in missionary teaching to encourage a warlike spirit. In fact the reverse was true, and almost all the reading material used in school and church was designed to stimulate loving, forgiving, friendly relationships.[25] Cargill's view was that 'the prophecies of the Bible are being fulfilled. The heathen are forgetting the art of war, and learning the gospel of peace.'[26]

And yet the 30s saw a broadening and an intensification of opposition 797
from the Tongatapu chiefs who had resisted the *lotu* (i.e. Christianity) from 798
the beginning. The baptism, in the early 30s, of Tupou of Tonga, 669
Tāufa'āhau of Ha'apai, and 'Ulukālala of Vava'u gave impetus to the anti-*lotu* [643]
party who began to persecute Christians and to disrupt services of [634]
worship. By January 1834 relations between the two parties became strained
almost to breaking point, and Tāufa'āhau and a large band of warriors sailed to Tongatapu to support Tupou. Their arrival was awe-inspiring—some 50 large double canoes sailing to anchor, 'each one beating his lali'. Thomas was impressed: 'Such a sight has never been witnessed at Tonga for many years. Indeed I question whether Tonga ever witnessed such a scene since it was a land.'[27]

For almost a month the contingent from the north made a show of force for Tupou and Christianity and their presence ensured at least a momentary peace, although rumours of war were upon many lips. 'This island is quite a stir', wrote Thomas, 'and all the talk is about fighting with the king of the Vava'u and Haabai islands'.[28] Thomas was at the farewell kava ceremony before Tāufa'āhau sailed back to Ha'apai, and he could not help noticing the open parading of weapons. Tāufa'āhau had 'a large club and a gun'

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[23] See lesson books nos 1-6.
[24] Watkin, Journal, 1 Dec. 1832, ML, A834. [113]
[25] See e.g. Nathaniel Turner, *First Lessons in the Language of Tongataboo* (Sydney 1828); [113] *Ko e Motua Lea* (Tongataboo 1831, 1834, 1840), reading lessons 1, 2 and 3.
[26] Cargill, Journal, 2 Oct. 1834, ML, A1817. [113]
[27] Thomas, Journal, 27 Feb., 3, 30 Mar. 1834, ANL, mf M160. The *lali* referred to is a wooden drum. [113]
[28] Ibid., 10 Mar. 1834. [534]

68: Cummins H-4 (no date) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

797 beside him, and 'many of his people were sitting about, or near him, all [798] armed, and on the lookout for the foe'.[29]

The religious revival which broke out in the northern islands a few [669] months later further inflamed the already excited and tense atmosphere.[30] The revival swept the Ha'apai and Vava'u groups and thousands were deeply affected. All normal activities came to a halt, work ceased, classes were abandoned, and prayer meetings and services were held throughout the day and evening.[31] It was, as one missionary put it, 'a week of Sabbaths'. Of all the islands in the group, only Tongatapu was relatively unaffected. There, although some Christians were caught up in the movement, the heathen majority remained untouched.[32]

The effect of the revival was to cement the northern groups into a solid unity behind King George and the missionaries. In Ha'apai the missionary reported that there was only one heathen in the whole group.[33] The great religious movement also divided the country more clearly into Christians and heathens—the heathens almost without exception residing in Tongata-797 pu. Christians in that group insulted heathens during their most sacred first fruits ceremony, the *Inasi*, and heathens responded by driving Christians 798 from their villages and disturbing Christian worship whenever possible.[34] A crisis developed in 1835 when, at the opening of a new chapel in the village of Nukunuku near Nuku'alofa, the wavering chief of the village came out strongly in favour of Christianity and he and hundreds of [558] his people joined the church.[35] After the opening festivities had subsided the anti-*lotu* party took the chief prisoner, deposed him, gave his title of Tuiva-797 kanoa to another man, and drove the Christians from the village. The exiles took refuge at Nuku'alofa and Tupou ordered that work on 798 fortifications begin immediately.[36] Watkin tells us that when services were 669 held at Nuku'alofa on the Sunday after the arrival of the exiles, guards were posted at various parts of the fortified wall of the village. 'All the watchers', he noted at the time, 'had teachers with them, and held religious services at their respective stations'.[37] The next day Watkin decided to leave

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[29] Ibid., 19 Mar. 1834.

[119] [30] The revival began on 22 July 1834 while a Tongan teacher was preaching at the small village of Utui near Neiafu, Vava'u. See *Missionary Notices* (hereinafter *MN*), No. 238 (Oct. 1835); Peter Turner, Journal, 23-7 July 1834, ML, B302.

[119] [31] Tucker to Secretaries, 1 Sept. 1834, *MN*, No. 238 (Oct. 1835).

[119] [32] Thomas to Committee, 10 Sept. 1834, *MN*, No. 238 (Oct. 1835).

[119] [33] Tucker to Committee, 17 Sept. 1835, quoted in *MN*, No. 248 (Aug. 1836).

[119] [34] WMMS Minute Book, Friendly Islands District Minutes, Tonga Station Report for 1834, [119] WMMS, ANL, mf M123; Thomas to Secretaries, 6 Dec. 1834, *MN*, No. 238 (Oct. 1834).

[35] Watkin, Journal, 20-30 Sept. 1835, *MN*, No. 256 (Apr. 1837).

[119] [36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

68: Cummins H-4 (no date) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

Nuku'alofa for the time being, and retire with his family to the safety of 797
Ha'apai.[38] In the meantime revival continued in the north, bringing 798
thousands into the church.

In this atmosphere of intense political and religious feeling the mis- 669
sionaries, through their schools, classes and sermons, introduced the Old 797
Testament teachings of Jehovah's condemnation of heathens, idol worship- 872
pers and law breakers. These teachings were contained in five small book- 779
lets: one from Isaiah containing prophecies of doom to idol worshippers and
apostates, two from I Samuel containing the story of Saul's battle with the 669
opponents of his rule and the enemies of Jehovah, and two from Psalms, for
the most part a series of Israelite war songs.[39]

The books from Samuel taught that Israelite kinship arose out of a fear that the enemies of Jehovah would over-run and conquer the chosen people.[40] It was to save his people from their enemies that Saul was chosen as Israel's first king. However, as the story of Saul illustrates, kingship was not without its enemies from within. Speaking of the views of opponents, the biblical writer tells how some said 'How shall this man save us?' These rebels, he continues, 'despised him, and brought him no presents'.[41] Apart from enemies within there were also external threats. Saul's solution, we read, was to declare war, with the result that 'he slew the Ammorites until the heat of the day', and as one of the booklets proclaims as its final words: 'The Lord delivered all the enemies into the hand of Israel'.[42]

The extract from Isaiah prophesies doom for the 'sinful nation' because they have 'forsaken the Lord, they have provoked the Holy One of Israel unto anger, they have gone backward . . . the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint'.[43] Isaiah prophesies that disaster will fall upon those who refuse to be 'willing and obedient', whose land 'is full of idols' and who 'worship the work of their own hands'. These rebellious ones have 'cast away the Law of the Lord', and have 'despised the Holy One of Israel'[44]—a description that could be applied equally well to the heathen of Tonga. The tone of Isaiah is ruthless.

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[38] Ibid.

[39] *Ko e Gaahi Same a Tevita mei he Tohi Tabu*, No. 7 (Tongataboo Apr. 1833); *Ko e Uluaki Buka a Samiuela*, No. 12 (Tongataboo Apr. 1834); *Ko e Buka a e Balofite Ko Aisea*, No. 13 (Tongataboo May 1834); *I Samiuela*, No. 14 (Tonga Aug. 1834); *Ko e Same*, No. 15 (Tonga Oct. 1834). The decision to prepare these books was made at the District Meeting of 1832. Watkin Papers, ML, A1960. [113]

[40] *I Samiuela*, No. 14, viii, 20; xi, 1-13. [113]

[41] Ibid., x, 27. The biblical references quoted in this article are taken from the King James Version of the Bible which was used by the missionaries in their translation work. The Tongan booklets were, almost without exception, literal translations of passages from this version.

[42] Ibid., xi, 11; xiv, 12.

[43] *Ko e Buka a e Balofite Ko Aisea*, i, 4-5.

[44] Ibid., ii, 8; v, 24.

of Velata the feats of a warrior named Tu'uhetoka of Ha'afeva, another 173
island of Ha'apai, who was considered by others to be one of the most out- 669
standing heroes. Naturally they sang the praises of their own two warriors, and said that after one skirmish Tāufa'āhau (King George) came and found Tu'uhetoka standing among a group of dead enemy warriors whom he claimed he himself had killed, but who, according to the 'Uiha people, were killed by another outstanding warrior named Puakatau whom Tu'uhetoka had himself killed out of jealousy.

In 1965 I visited the island of Lifuka where this war took place, and 123
was taken by the local people to what remains of the fortress of Velata itself, as well as to the historic tracts of land surrounding it. My local informants
told me the names of these tracts of land (*api*) and also how these names 124
had arisen. One story was about Tu'uhetoka. They said that at the peak of 173
a skirmish in which Tāufa'āhau and some of his men were being over- 669
powered a warrior of outstanding calibre among the men of Ha'afeva inter- 643
vened, and with a rare display of skill and courage, he and Tāufa'āhau [726]
ploughed their way through *Tu'i Tonga*'s warriors, felling scores of them with their clubs while the rest fled. Watching this warrior's heroic performance, Tāufa'āhau was said to have remarked that he was like a gigantic fish
chasing a shoal of small fish. After the final victory Tāufa'āhau bestowed 173
upon him the name Tu'uhetoka (meaning 'standing in the face of defeat'), 729
and gave him a sizeable portion of land at Lifuka, just alongside his own, and [643]
called it Ikalahi (big fish) in memory of his gallantry. Later he was given the [553]
island of Ha'afeva as his estate (*tofi'a*),[8] and the name Tu'uhetoka became a [103]
noble title. [565]

I found oral traditions a useful supplement to written sources. Care 173
needed to be taken, however, that the oral traditions were in fact genuine 124
and not distorted versions of written accounts. I was able to detect a few [121]
cases where people claimed to have oral knowledge which turned out to be
spurious. When I was at 'Uiha I asked the old men about a certain tradition 124
which existed there. After a while they became uncertain and said that Mr So-and-so, who was not present, knew all about it. Consequently we sent for him. He was a school teacher in his early 50s, who was able to read English books haltingly. What he had to tell turned out to be based on what he had
read in a collection of tales written for schools. However the genuine oral 114
traditions proved to be a valuable check on the reliability of written sources. [121]
An example of this may be seen in the account of the destruction of the fort- [797]
ress, god houses and effigies of 'Uiha. Bishop Blanc has the following [798]
account in his history of Tonga: [643]

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[8] S. Latukefu, 'Church and State in Tonga', Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University (Canberra, 1967), 192. [113]

> 114 Taufaahau in 1835 commenced to preach the gospel. Although professing
> 797 Christianity, he had at no time showed forbearance in his dealings with those
> •798 who were still pagans. Through a trick he succeeded in capturing the pagan
> 643 fort of Uiha, and gave the people into slavery to the chiefs of Vavau.*

The implications of this appear to be that Tāufa'āhau acted in a ruthless and inhuman fashion without considering the welfare of the people. However various oral traditions which I collected throw a different light on the episode.

173 The 'Uiha people were the last group to resist Christianity in Ha'apai.
797 Other chiefs had persuaded their people to become converted on the orders
of Tāufa'āhau, but according to traditions, the chief of 'Uiha, who was
643 named Malupō, and his sons, because they were closely related and had
798 political affiliations with Tāufa'āhau, were able to resist his wishes on matters
of religion without fear of disastrous consequences. Tāufa'āhau for his part
was not seriously disturbed by 'Uiha's resistance. He sought no armed
reprisal as was expected by some of the 'Uiha people, but treated ~~the whole~~
173 matter in a rather humorous way. At the time that he became ruler of
Vava'u it was well known that there was some dissatisfaction among a few
797 of the chiefs in Vava'u concerning the issues of religion and the rulership of
643 Vava'u. Tāufa'āhau used this situation as a means of tricking Malupō and
his sons into terminating their resistance to Christianity.

According to tradition, before leaving on one of his visits to Vava'u he sent a message to Malupō to send the warriors of 'Uiha to Vava'u for his protection. On reaching Vava'u he arranged for the people of a small village called Masilamea, well known for their gentleness and lack of fighting prowess, to lie in ambush for the 'Uiha warriors near the spot where his large white pig was kept in an enclosure. When the 'Uiha warriors arrived Tāufa'āhau informed them that the rumour of a plot against his life was false. He then suggested that they should fetch his white pig to kill it as an *'oho* (provisions) for their return journey. Two or three warriors remained in their canoe while the rest set forth, unarmed, to fetch the pig. As soon as they had departed the canoe was seized. The others approached the pig enclosure, only to encounter the gentle Masilamea people who ambushed and, of course, outnumbered them, bound their hands behind their backs
[539] and led them to Neiafu, the capital. When Tāufa'āhau saw his famous warrior cousins as captives of the most un-warlike Masilameans, he burst into laughter, saying 'Toki taha a Masilamea' (Masilamea's first), which has become a common saying in Tonga ever since to refer to a rare and unexpected

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[113] *J. F. Blanc, *A History of Tonga or Friendly Islands. Trans. from the Tongan by C. S. Ramsay* (Vista, California, 1934), 37.

69: Lātūkefu H,I-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9

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achievement made by an unlikely person. Then Tāufa'āhau lectured the 797
warriors on the falsehood of heathenism and exhorted them to become 643
Christians. They were detained at Vava'u (not as slaves, as Blanc alleged) [539]
until Tāufa'āhau and his men had sailed to 'Uiha and levelled its fortress [114]
and burnt down the god houses and all the effigies. In Vava'u the warriors [798]
soon became converted and when they returned to 'Uiha they proceeded to build the largest and most beautiful chapel in all Ha'apai. Rather than resenting what happened, the 'Uiha people had been grateful to Tāufa'āhau for what he had done—except for the episode of the white pig and the Masilameans which none of my 'Uiha informants wanted to mention.

This traditional background information put the event in perspective and showed Tāufa'āhau's behaviour to have been a very shrewd and humane way of overcoming opposition.

In conclusion, I believe that oral traditions after being carefully and 121
critically submitted to the canons of historical and anthropological criticism, have helped tremendously to make the history of Tonga more alive, more interesting, exciting, and I hope, more accurate. In general, I agree with McCall that: 'It was in learning to use these "witnesses in spite of themselves" and putting together in a kind of puzzle small scraps of information from various sources that history became, as Michelet put it, less the unmoving pupil of the chronicles of the ancients and more the ever-daring explorer of all ages'.[10]

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[10] McCall, *op. cit.*, 19.

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## A POEM BY THE TONGAN CHIEF TAFOLO

Pardon me, noble chiefs and lineages,
For the searching place is now far and difficult;
The old plantations once scattered on the roads
Have now quite disappeared and gone with them their generation,
And although they now lie in very thick bush,
Search will be made at any rate
For Touiafutuna, the first rock
Where our origin began.
Though these are only traditions and fables,
'Tis here the inquirers get their facts.

E. W. Gifford, *Tongan Myths and Tales*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 8 (Honolulu, 1924), 6. Translation attributed to Beatrice Shirley Baker. [113]

75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u
Pangai

she curses all her enemies and freely predicts for them all the major and 158
minor horrors of a Wesleyan hell. She struggles hard and excitedly to free 159
herself from restraining hands that she may make herself the instrument of 771
God's vengeance here and now. The ravings and the strugglings go on incessantly. One cannot doubt, as one listens, that Christianity in its Wesleyan variety has laid the deepest and most indelible impress on the woman's mind, giving shape and form to all her worries and to all her blind striving to set her mind once more at ease. All this proves that religion is the mortar that holds together at least one Tongan woman's mind and, to vary the metaphor, provides the form in which the sick mind sets when it tries to cure itself by going insane.

Dr. Lopdell continued to treat this patient for some days. Then her relatives 158
decided that native medicine might be more efficacious. They therefore called 159
in a Tongan expert who diagnosed the case as one of possession by an evil 756
spirit. The woman was thereafter dosed and manipulated and whipped in an 755
effort to attract or drive the spirit from her body. At latest report she is surviving this treatment and apparently making a slow recovery. Her recovery, however, is never likely to be permanent.

I have brief notes from Dr. Lopdell of another manic patient, a mixed- 158
blood girl of about twenty, the onset of whose psychosis was apparently due to 159
thwarting in love combined with a hypersensitiveness and who felt inferiority regarding her social status among the small European community in Neiafu.
Her two brothers had also displayed psychotic tendencies. As with the pa- [771]
tient mentioned above, the girl's symptoms patterned themselves in terms of religious symbols.

Dr. Lopdell mentioned four or five other cases of Tongan insanity in which 771
religion had played a similar role. And those who know Tongan life today
realize full well that Wesleyan Christianity has come to full seeding in the [158]
life and behavior of the modern—and normal—Tongan. Churchgoing occupies [794]
a large part of his time: four times each Sunday and three times each week
as a matter of normal routine; a week of churchgoing twice each day, to cele- [796]
brate each new year; miscellaneous services and prayer meetings seemingly
thrown in on the slightest excuse. Behind are laws of the state that not only [659]
establish a church, but implement its morality with secular authority, and [671]
a short 19th-century church history which includes among other minor events [798]
a major record of religious persecutions, exilings, and organized religious warfare—Wesleyans against heathens, Wesleyans against Roman Catholics, Wesleyans against Wesleyan schisms and Wesleyan defections. The record is not a pretty one, but if the events have done nothing else, they have at least burned Wesleyan Christianity into the hearts and minds of these Tongan people; burned it deeply, painfully, but indelibly.

Tongan life today, therefore, has been born from the mating of John Wesley's teaching with the customs of a pagan people. The birth was clumsily caesarian. Plenty of blood was spilled and a good deal of tissue that got in the way was roughly extirpated. The now adult child, however, is seemingly strong and prosperous.

## Summary

The case material here presented suggests the value of a study of psychic 121
stress in a primitive community, specifically in a present-day Tongan village. It enables us not only to revalue the predominant cultural norms in such a community, but also to trace out the lines of stress which result from the impact of such norms upon the personalities of individual members of the society. Such study is important in an aboriginal culture relatively untouched

797 stories from the Bible, including the stories of the Children of
Israel and the Ten Commandments in particular.

643 As a man of action, Tāufa'āhau wanted to test the validity
and power of the old gods and to discover by experience whether
797 Jehovah was the only true God. He began by destroying a large
643 canoe which had long been kept as sacred to their gods. Then
one day he took Pita Vī and others with him to test the power
776 of the god Haehaetahi. On their arrival at the house of the god's
798 priestess, Tāufa'āhau asked her to let the god come so that
they could have *kava* together.

> Hereupon [narrated Pita Vi] the old priestess became inspired by Haehaetahi; and, in the meanwhile, Taufa-ahau had prepared a great drinking- cup. . . . The cup was then filled and handed by Taufa-ahau to the priestess; but, while her face was turned upwards, in the act of drinking off its contents, Taufa-ahau struck her a great blow on the forehead, which sent the god (or priestess) rolling on the ground. He then gave her another blow, and, raising a shout of victory, cried out that the god was slain. (West 1865:364)

The chiefs of Ha'apai were already upset by Tāufa'āhau's
commitment to the new religion, but after his treatment of
661 Haehaetahi they were greatly alarmed. A plan was drawn up by
their leaders, in which Tāufa'āhau was to be seized and bound,
and the small band of followers of the new religion killed. Up
to this time Tāufa'āhau had not yet joined the Christians in their
religious meetings, but, on discovering the chiefs' plot, he decided
to join them openly in their prayer meetings. Soon afterwards he
and Vī went out to the bush and collected objects used for
worship in the old religion, built a fire and burnt them all. Then
they went to the sea. Tāufa'āhau swam out to the deep, calling the
names of the gods, Haehaetahi (a shark), Tāufa'itahi, and others
to come to him if they were really gods, but none came.

Tāufa'āhau did not confine his testing to the heathen gods alone. By way of testing the power of the Christian God, whilst on a canoe voyage, he cast his spear at a shark, which he suspected to be Haehaetahi, and, missing it, threw Pita Vī and another man overboard to fetch the spear and bring it to Hā'ano. He reasoned that if Jehovah were really God, he would save Pita Vī and his companion from the sharks. Fortunately for the mission,

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
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Vī and his friend arrived safely on shore with the spear (Collocott n.d.:75). 797

Convinced by what he had learned and by the results of his tests 643 that the Christian God was the only God, Tāufa'āhau became an 798 ardent crusader for his new-found faith. He wasted no time in [776] launching a full-scale campaign to eradicate heathenism in Ha'apai. He and his followers burned down god-houses and destroyed effigies on other islands, persuading and even forcing the people to give up their traditional beliefs and accept Christianity. When Thomas finally arrived in 1830, only three islands (Nomuka, Tungua and 'Uiha) out of the eighteen inhabited islands of the Ha'apai group had not yet accepted the *lotu* (Farmer 1855: 204-5).

Tāufa'āhau had at this time merely accepted the new God on 797 the same terms as those on which he had accepted or served the traditional ones, and he had not fully grasped the meaning to 643 Christians of such concepts as mercy and forbearance. He was the ruler of Ha'apai, desperately seeking what was best for himself and his people, and there was no other way to find this out than by applying drastic measures to prove whether his scepticism of the old gods was justified and his acceptance of the new faith was right. After becoming convinced himself, he went on to demonstrate to his people that infringements of the old religious taboos brought no penalties. His rank and position as ruler entitled him to do what he did. He was baptised on 7 August 1831, but before this he had chosen for himself the name King George. 'I would remark here', wrote Peter Turner (Journal, 13 June [551] 1831), 'that the King of Haabai [Tāufa'āhau], tho' not yet baptized—was called King George—as he had chosen the name because of [sic] the late King of England was called George.'

In the same year he managed, with considerable difficulty, to 634 persuade Fīnau 'Ulukālala Tuapasi, ruler of Vava'u, to become 797 converted. Prior to this Fīnau had been bitter against the missionaries and the new religion, and had persecuted those who were sympathetic to Christianity, mainly because of the failure of the missionaries to comply with his request for a missionary. In response to Aleamotu'a's advice to accept Christianity in 1828 he had sent a letter to Nathaniel Turner, pleading with him to

634 send to Port Jackson for some missionaries to come to Vava'u
797 to teach him and his people (Farmer 1855:171). Later in the
same year while in Tongatapu he spoke to Nathaniel Turner on
the subject, but because of the shortage of the missionaries Turner
634 could do nothing about it at the time. However, Tāufa'āhau successfully
persuaded him to drop this opposition to the mission
797 work and accept Christianity. With 'Ulukālala's assistance, King
643 George extended his crusade to Vava'u. 'Ulukālala ordered that
all worshipping places and gods be burnt down throughout Vava'u.

798 The missionaries realised that traditionally King George and
Fīnau 'Ulukālala were acting within the bounds of their authority,
being rulers of Ha'apai and Vava'u respectively. Religiously, they
regarded it as a triumph of Jehovah over Baal for 'Thou shalt
have none other gods before me . . .' nor 'make unto thee a graven
634 image, nor the likeness of any form . . .'. However, these actions
797 sparked off a rebellion in Vava'u against 'Ulukālala, led by his
half-brother Lualala. 'Ulukālala appealed to King George for
643 help. The latter responded immediately, and he and his warriors
669 from Ha'apai promptly put down the rebellion with a minimal
loss of life. All of Vava'u then accepted Christianity.

643 The success of the union between the Tu'i Kanokupolu family
797 and the Wesleyan missionaries both in putting down political rivals
and turning the people to Christianity was regarded by both sides
as the work of providence. When Fīnau 'Ulukālala and the people
of Vava'u turned to Christianity, one of the missionaries excitedly
declared, 'A king and his people waiting for God's laws! Satan's
cause trembles and falls; at the name of Jesus idolatry bows down;
it is crumbled into dust . . . This is the Lord's doing, and it is
marvellous in our eyes' (Thomas, Journal, 27 April 1831).

[634] In 1833 'Ulukālala died after nominating King George his
successor, and King George became ruler of both Ha'apai and
Vava'u. Soon after, in the same year, he tricked Malupō and the
warriors of 'Uiha, the last stronghold of heathenism in Ha'apai,
into accepting the new religion, thus completing the 'Christianisation'
of the whole of the northern groups of Ha'apai and
Vava'u.

797 While the part played by the missionaries in the initial conversion
of Tongans to the Wesleyan mission is undisputed, one

mission centres because it was more convenient to live close to 797
the schools. Still others were attracted by the medical services
which the missionaries provided. The missionaries claimed that 166
one of the places thus created was Nuku'alofa, the present capital
of Tonga, and were very proud of it. Amos wrote of its develop- 797
ment: 368

> The modern town of Nukualofa is purely a creation of Christianity; and . . . its present population has been gathered by the gospel alone . . . Nukualofa was ever an obscure village, with a small population of less than one hundred persons, (except when fortified in time of war as a place of refuge for other villages,) until the *lotu* collected from all parts of the island a population peculiarly its own, which now amounts to upwards of one thousand two hundred; and the reigning Tuikanokubolu has constituted it the metropolis of his ocean empire. Thus Christian Missions are founding cities, each of which, we hope, will become 'an eternal excellency, the joy of many generations'. (*W-M Mag.*, 1854:870)

Some new centres were established as a result of the persecution 361
of Christian converts who were driven from their own villages.
Some of these joined Christian villages or towns, but others 798
started new settlements. The village of Fatai in Tongatapu was established by a man who had been driven out of Houma on account of his conversion. This redistribution of population in Tonga was a spontaneous response of the people to the new demands and challenges which confronted them, in marked contrast to what happened in Tahiti, for example, where the L.M.S. missionaries deliberately tried to move the people from their traditional habitats into new villages where mission activities were centred.

In the Christian towns and villages in Tonga the missionaries 797
were able to exert considerable influence upon the growing
Christian population, and as things began to settle, a new set of 771
superstitious beliefs began to gather round Christianity itself.
Natural disasters, sickness and misfortunes were now attributed by [784]
many to the anger of Jehovah, and prosperity and good health to
His good will. As the missionaries were viewed as men of God, [778]
their property was regarded as sacred. The mission property and
the Bible in particular were held in utmost reverence. The old

The defeat of Laufilitonga at Velata was of crucial importance, 643
for it decided once and for all the political future of the Tu'i
Tonga on the one hand, and the security of Tāufa'āhau's position,
as ruler of Ha'apai, on the other. This victory eliminated one of
his most formidable rivals and brought the ultimate objective of
uniting the whole of Tonga one step nearer.[12]

Having consolidated his rule in Ha'apai, he now turned his 643
attention to Vava'u which his father had ruled briefly. Circum-
stances were to favour him. His success in putting down the 662
revolt against 'Ulukālala led by the latter's own half-brother, 634
Lualala, and sending the ringleaders out of Vava'u, inevitably
made him a favourite with the aged 'Ulukālala. With his half-brother, Lualala, out of the country, and his son, Matekitonga, still a minor, 'Ulukālala on his death bed in 1833 had no other choice but to nominate his cousin, Tāufa'āhau, ruler of Vava'u. This decision was doubtless influenced by gratitude for Tāufa'āhau's assistance and admiration for him as a leader, and almost certainly there was some pressure from the missionaries.[13] As a result, Tāufa'āhau was now ruler of both Ha'apai and Vava'u.

During the latter half of the 1830s and the beginning of the 643
forties, bitter conflicts flared up in Tongatapu between the
Christians and the heathens. The leader of the Christian faction 798
was the Tu'i Kanokupolu, Siosaia Aleamotu'a, who appealed to
his grand-nephew, Tāufa'āhau, for help. The response was immediate, for there were ties of kinship as well as the bonds of common religious faith between the two. However, one cannot ignore the possibility that Tāufa'āhau saw this appeal as yet
another opportunity to further his own ambitions. It gave him the [662]
chance, for the first time, not only to have a showdown with his
father's formidable enemies, the Ha'a Havea chiefs,[14] but also

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[12] Tokemoana did not survive the war and, after the war, Tāufa'āhau [554]
told Laufilitonga that the title Tokemoana should not be conferred any
more, thus ending this traditional title.

[13] It would be surprising if the missionaries did not add the weight of their advice to make 'Ulukālala nominate Tāufa'āhau for the position of Tu'i Vava'u, for at this time they had already seen that the future of both Tonga and their mission work lay with Tāufa'āhau.

[14] The last words of advice which the dying Tupouto'a gave to his son Tāufa'āhau in 1820 were, 'If you are to be successful, then destroy the Ha'a Havea' (informant, Her Majesty, the late Queen Sālote).

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643 to pave his way to the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu, which was a necessary final step towards the ultimate unification of Tonga.

● [798] [662] Tāufa'āhau's unrivalled skills as a leader and warrior were matched by an extraordinary political astuteness which enabled him to handle many complicated situations that arose, both before and after he eventually became Tu'i Kanokupolu. It was not easy to maintain a loyal following from all the people who came under his rule. The people of Ha'apai (except in the case of the 'Uiha people's resistance to Christianity) were always loyal and faithful to him from the moment that he had defeated Laufilitonga at Velata. However, things were different in other parts of Tonga.

643 634 Some of the Vava'u chiefs soon showed signs that they resented his rule, and to appease them he shifted his residence there until things had calmed down, eventually appointing one of the Ha'apai chiefs, Leonaitasi Lolohea, a close relative of his, as governor of Vava'u (Rabone, Journal, 12 Nov. 1836). But he soon realised the error of this move, and quickly returned the Ha'apai chief to his own people, and made 'Osaiasi Veikune, one of the leading chiefs of Vava'u, governor. He deliberately side-stepped Fīnau 'Ulukālala's son, Matekitonga, who was now of age, anticipating that he would try to restore himself as ruler of Vava'u if he were placed in such a position. Thus he forestalled a potential rival.

643 662 798 558 In Tongatapu in 1840, Aleamotu'a dispossessed the leaders of the heathen faction of Hihifo of their titles, Ata and Vaha'i, and conferred these on two other members of the respective families, who were loyal to the Christian faction. This move was taken at the instigation of Tāufa'āhau, and ensured the continuing loyalty of the Hihifo District to the Tu'i Kanokupolu and the Christian faction.[15]

643 661 648 Another shrewd step was to appoint Ma'afu, son of Aleamotu'a, to Fiji. This was after Tāufa'āhau had become Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845, when he realised that Ma'afu could be a rallying point

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[15] Ata Tōfua, who was deposed in 1840 and sent to Ha'apai with his wife, returned to Tonga in November the same year (see Rabone, Journal, 30 Nov. 1840). In May 1841 his title was restored to him (ibid., 17 May 1841).

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# 6 *The Religio-Political Wars and the Birth of a Kingdom*

797 The missionaries who went to Tonga shared the attitudes of Methodists in England to the question of war; their abhorrence of warfare in general did not prevent them from loyally serving their king and country in time of war. John Wesley used his influence to avert the American War of Independence, but when it broke out he became one of the staunchest supporters of the British government (Edwards 1948:19). Their patriotism owed much to their belief in the Old Testament sense of kingship (Taylor 1935:25). They believed that a ruler was ordained by God and his authority was derived from Him.

797 Replying to Dillon's charges against the Wesleyan missionaries in Tonga that they were entirely responsible for the wars in 1837
669 and 1840, David Cargill (1842:7-9) wrote:
798

> The Christians did not take up arms either to propagate their religion or abolish Heathenism. Their design was, to suppress rebellion, maintain the authority of their legal monarch, to defend their rights and privileges, and to preserve their lives . . . .
>
> When they appeared in arms, loyalty to their Sovereign, love of their country, love to their wives and children, and the desire of self-preservation, not hatred to the Heathen, or love of war, were the principles by which they were influenced.

Besides being loyal to king and country, the Methodists felt justified in going to war to combat the threat of the forces of anti-Christ. This was one of the reasons why they wholeheartedly supported the British government in its stand during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. This view was reflected in the missionaries' attitudes towards war in Tonga.

The missionaries also felt justified in supporting the wars in Tonga because they were convinced that the heathens would never become loyal subjects of the Tongan monarch unless they accepted

the *lotu* (Rabone, Journal, 16 Feb. 1840). They feared that 797
victory for the heathens would mean the end of monarchy, the
rule of law and, above all, their werk in Tonga. From the begin- 669
ning of the mission the heathens were on the offensive. In Tonga- 798
tapu they had the numbers and strength to become a serious danger to the Christian minority Their aggressive behaviour was due in part to a deep-seated suspicion that the new religion would bring on disaster, by provoking the anger of the gods. Many of the chiefs and all the priests were also afraid that this *lotu* would undermine their prestige and deprive them of their privileges. As a result, Christian converts were persecuted and, when they showed no signs of surrendering their new faith, the chiefs felt compelled to drive these determined few from their localities. In doing so, they unwittingly helped to create a more closely knit and potentially powerful community of Christians, who were later able to overthrow their far from united oppressors. The gathering place of the exiled Christians on Tongatapu was the small hamlet of Nuku'alofa.

Under the leadership of King George, the Christians began to 797
take the offensive, first in Ha'apai, where Tāufa'āhau systematic-
ally burned down the god-houses, destroyed effigies and turned 798
the sacred places into gardens or homesites during 1829 and 643
1830. As James Watkin (Journal, 25 April 1831) wrote:

> Part of one of these houses has been employed to erect a house which is appropriated to the good purpose of accommodating strangers and the ground that was devoted to the gods has been reclaimed for the use of man and is now covered with Banana and other trees bearing fruit to supply the wants of man. So that you see the Devil is losing ground.

Later, in 1833, when the fortress in 'Uiha had been demolished, and the god-houses and effigies destroyed, he also recorded that a residence for a teacher was built in the enclosure which had previously been regarded as sacred (Journal, 12 April 1833).

In 1831 King George extended his campaign to Vava'u, where 797
he was assisted by Fīnau 'Ulukālala Tuapasi. Sarah Farmer de- 798
scribed how Fīnau put the gods to test and then burnt them: 634

> the king [Fīnau 'U. Tuapasi] gave orders, that seven of the principal idols should be placed in a row. He then addressed them in language

> 797 798 634 like this: 'I have brought you here to prove you; and I tell you beforehand what I am about to do, that you may be without excuse.' Then, commencing with the first, he said, 'If you are a god, run away, or you shall be burned in the fire which I have prepared!' The god made no attempt to escape. He then spoke to the next in the same way, and so on till he came to the last. As none of them ran, the king gave orders that the sacred houses should be set on fire. His commands were promptly obeyed. Eighteen temples, with their gods, were burned down. (Farmer 1855:211)

797 798 643 778 Peter Turner relates how King George and some of his warriors went to the god-house at Makave, a village near Neiafu, the capital of Vava'u. When the priest saw them he thought they had come to consult the gods, and he entered the house of the god and proceeded to pray for inspiration. The sight of this so exasperated King George that:

> He rose, went into the god's house, dragged out the Priest, and annointed him plentifully with mud from the gutter—and threw him on one side telling him as an old deceiver 'to have done with his foolishness'. He then went into the house, brought out the god, wrapped in a bundle of native cloth and fine mats; and to the astonishment and dread of some, began to disrobe the god, fold after fold was taken off until the great god was seen in the form of a small spotted shell, which fell to the ground, to the surprise—of some,—the shame of others, to see how they had been deceived, and some laughed out right. Fire was set to the house, and its glory ascended in flame and smoke. (P. Turner, Missionary papers:49-50)

797 798 643 Many were alarmed and took up arms to avenge this sacrilege but, when they saw that it was King George and his men, they became afraid and could not carry out their intentions. As a result, King George and his men systematically went on with this destruction throughout Vava'u.

[669] [634] The missionaries realised that traditionally King George and Fīnau 'Ulukālala were acting within the bounds of their authority, being rulers of Ha'apai and Vava'u. Religiously, they regarded it as a triumph of Jehovah over Baal. They were so excited about the success of this campaign that one of them declared, 'This tide of glorious intelligence that Vavau had become Christian spread northward and southward like a swelling tide' (P. Turner, Missionary papers:51).

The actions of 'Ulukālala and King George, however, sparked 797
off the first armed conflict in Tonga since the establishment of the
Wesleyan mission in 1826. Lualala, 'Ulukālala's half-brother, led 798
the rebellion against 'Ulukālala. The destruction of the places of 643
worship was given as the pretext for this uprising. While there 634
was genuine provocation in these acts, the rebellion cannot be 669
viewed in isolation, for it was an extension of the general power
struggle which had gone on for quite some time in Tonga. Lualala had his eyes on the rulership of Vava'u, for 'Ulukālala was ageing and his son, Matekitonga, was still very much a junior. The missionaries regarded the uprising as a rebellion against the legitimate authority in Vava'u and consequently they gave at least their moral support to 'Ulukālala and King George. However, through their influence, clemency was shown towards Lualala, and he and his followers were saved from being killed and banished from Vava'u.

When King George became ruler of both Ha'apai and Vava'u 643
in 1833 the whole of Ha'apai, except 'Uiha, had accepted 797
Christianity, chiefly because King George wished them to do so. There were a few objectors, such as Malupō of 'Uiha and his sons, whose refusal was due largely to their attachment to the old religion, but they remained politically loyal to King George. Some of the other chiefs of Ha'apai were also still attached to their old gods, but they dared not disobey the wishes of King George and so became Christians, at least nominally. Malupō and his sons were able to resist, on account of close kinship and political affiliation with King George. It will be recalled that the King's paternal grandmother was a Malupō, and both he and his father, Tupouto'a, were brought up at 'Uiha by Malupō and the 'Uiha people. Furthermore, Malupō and his sons had supported King George in his previous struggle against Laufilitonga at the war of Velata.

King George for his part was not seriously disturbed by 'Uiha's resistance. He sought no armed reprisal, but treated the whole matter in a rather humorous way. At the time that he became ruler of Vava'u, it was well known that there was some dissatisfaction among a few of the chiefs in Vava'u,[1] particularly the former supporters of Lualala, concerning the issues of religion and

643 797 the rulership of Vava'u. King George used this situation as a means of tricking Malupō.

Before leaving on one of his visits to Vava'u he sent a message to Malupō, saying that he had heard it rumoured that there was a plot to assassinate him in Vava'u and he pleaded with Malupō to send the warriors of 'Uiha to Vava'u for his protection. After he reached Vava'u, he secretly arranged for the people of a village called Masilamea, well known for their gentleness and lack of fighting prowess, to lie in wait for the 'Uiha warriors near the spot where his large white pig was kept in an enclosure. When the 'Uiha canoe full of warriors arrived, King George informed them that the rumoured plot against his life was false. He then suggested that they should fetch his pig to kill it as provision for their return voyage. Two or three warriors remained in the canoe, while the rest set forth, unarmed, to fetch the pig. As soon as they had departed the canoe was seized. The others approached the pig enclosure, only to encounter the gentle Masilamea people who ambushed and of course outnumbered them, bound their hands behind their backs and led them to Neiafu, the capital. When King George saw his famous warrior cousins as captives of the most un-warlike Masilameans, he burst into laughter, saying, 'Toki taha a Masilamea' ('Masilamea's first')—a great humiliation for the 'Uiha warriors. He then spoke to them very strongly on the falsehood of heathenism and exhorted them to become
● [798] Christians. The warriors were kept in Vava'u until he and his men sailed to 'Uiha, levelled its fortress and burnt down the god-houses and all the effigies. The warriors became converts in Vava'u, and when they returned to 'Uiha they proceeded to build the largest and most beautiful chapel in all Ha'apai (Lātūkefu 1968:142). Thus the last resistance in Ha'apai was settled without war or bloodshed.

643 797 669 Meanwhile the heathen chiefs on Tongatapu were enraged by the news of the desecration and destruction of the sacred places of Ha'apai and Vava'u, for it was clear that they feared the political implications of King George's success in this campaign. It increased their determination to resist, at all cost, any similar onslaught which he might be planning to make on Tongatapu. When he visited his great-uncle, Aleamotu'a, in Tongatapu later

King George, only added to the antagonism of their opponents, 797
who openly showed their resentment when King George accom-
panied Aleamotu'a back to Tongatapu in November, as reported 643
by Rabone. 'The reception', he wrote, 'was not attended with any particular marks of kindness the Heathen had prepared for war foolishly supposing King George was bringing his people to fight . . .' (Rabone, Journal, 12 Nov. 1836).

King George returned to Ha'apai, but the situation in Tonga- 797
tapu grew worse. Rumours were spreading that the heathen chiefs,
members of the 'electoral college' in particular, were planning to 643
depose Aleamotu'a and replace him with someone more loyal to 669
their cause. Aleamotu'a wrote to King George, informing him of
the seriousness of the situation in Tongatapu. The latter immedi- 798
ately departed for Vava'u to discuss the matter with the chiefs there. He then left for Tongatapu, accompanied by his uncle Ulakai and others in several canoes. They arrived on 1 January 1837 and on the sixth Rabone received news that the island was considered to be in a state of war and King George had ordered:

> the strong healthy men of these islands to go to Tonga that in case the Heathen should be foolish enough to fight they may have a force to meet them and in the name of the Lord to put them to flight . . . . Many are going in the morning. May they have a fair wind. (Rabone, Journal. 6 Jan. 1837)

The determination of the heathen chiefs to put an end to the spread of Christianity was fostered by both religious and political considerations. The scepticism regarding the traditional gods which the Tu'i Kanokupolu family had developed, partly on account of the failure of the gods to ensure their success in their endeavour to make the Tu'i Kanokupolu the supreme ruler of the whole of Tonga, was not shared by the other chiefs. The others had no reasons for doubting the power of their gods, for they had been quite successful, so far, in maintaining their independence. The Ha'a Havea, in particular, had won their wars against the Tu'i Kanokupolu family, and at this time were the most powerful and influential chiefs in Tongatapu.

The political considerations which influenced the heathen chiefs [565]
in their rejection of Christianity were bound up with their realisa-

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797 tion that a victory for the Tu'i Kanokupolu and King George and
643 their new religion would mean an end to their arbitrary powers over their subjects and deprive them of their privileges. They were
669 probably confident of their own strength, remembering how both
798 Fīnau 'Ulukālala and Tupouto'a, with their warriors from the northern groups, had failed to defeat them at the beginning of the
565 century. The heathen chiefs were thus firmly resolved to halt the spread of Christianity, and, if need be, to fight, in order to protect both their religion and their political independence.

669 It has been alleged that the war between the heathens and Christians, which broke out in 1837, was a purely religious conflict.
798 Basil Thomson (1894:350-1), who took this view, stated:

> It was a missionary war—a crusade in which the club and the Bible were linked against the powers of darkness; and no knight-errant ever went against the Crescent with greater zest than the new converts showed in their quarrel with their heathen countrymen.

This over-simplified view of a complex situation completely fails to take into account the underlying power struggle, which was much older and more basic than the religious issues which appeared on the surface to have precipitated this war.

669 The war began on 8 January 1837. The heathens chose the Sabbath day on which to attack, thinking the Christians would
726 not defend themselves, but they were proved mistaken. According to Watkin, who was an eye witness, the Christian fortress was well guarded, and the attackers were easily driven off, although two of the Christians were wounded. Watkin (Journal, 11 Jan. 1837) wrote, 'They [the heathens] have therefore actually commenced the war, and God will I trust vindicate his own cause'. King George waited till the following day, then led his men to attack the nearest heathen fortress of Ngele'ia which had been built by Lualala with the assistance of the chiefs of Pea. When they came in sight of the fortress, he called his men around him to give them their orders, and before they launched their attack, they prayed together 'and felt (according to their own expression) just as when the revival of religion broke out' (Rabone, Journal, 17 Jan. 1837).
[727] In the surprise attack that followed all twenty-six warriors in the fortress were killed, 'among whom were some of the greatest

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saw no merits whatsoever in the determination of the heathens 669
to die for theirs.

Several months later, when Rabone himself passed through 727
Hule on a trip from Hihifo to Nuku'alofa, he wrote: 798

> Hule is the place in which so many lost their lives when King George with his people attacked and destroyed their fortress this took place early in February last, and yet the bones of many are to be seen dried under the sun. I counted 12 skulls in a circumference of 3 square yards. Scores have been buried but many remain as visible mark of God's displeasure against sin—this was an awfully wicked fortress, but judgement has overtaken them and there scarcely remains one that escaped. (Rabone, Journal, 27 Sept. 1837)

Further skirmishes occurred and on 8 February Pea was again 669
attacked, with the loss of thirteen heathens and three Christians.
Meanwhile King George sent for reinforcements from Vava'u. 726
Referring to this new call up, Rabone (Journal, 16 Feb. 1837) wrote that if he understood it correctly, the intention was to make 'a desperate attack upon the Heathen who positively refuse to "lotu" or to turn to God without they do this there is no ground of hope for their being better subjects or in any respect'. At any rate, 200 or more men left Vava'u in four canoes in February with Rabone's prayer, 'O Lord do thou undertake for thy people and speedily bring the war to an end' (Rabone, Journal, 18 Feb. 1837).

Indeed, the war was speedily brought to an end, for with the 200 or more men as reinforcements, the heathens lost heart and
ceased their offensive. King George was then able to extract from 669
them a promise to desist from further persecution of Christians as 728
a condition for peace. Although Aleamotu'a and King George were in a winning position, they did not wish to continue the war, thus supporting the missionaries' contention that the war was largely fostered by the heathen chiefs.

In April the warriors from the north returned to their respective places. Rabone (Journal, 12 April 1837) gave an account of the welcome back to Vava'u:

> We went down to welcome them back the sight was to me very affecting & interesting, . . . We indeed were glad to see them, and more especially when as soon as they spoke they attributed their

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> 669 728 salvation to God & our prayers for them, some say why what are they? They wonder they are alive but it must be because their friends have prayed much for them.

669 643 798 The fears of the heathen chiefs of Tongatapu that King George might extend his campaign of destruction of the sacred places and effigies proved justified. Everywhere King George and his warriors went during the war they burnt down and destroyed god-houses, objects of worship, and sacred places. The *vao tapu* (sacred wood) of the famous sanctuary of Ma'ofanga, which had been so sacrosanct that no one could approach it, on pain of death, was cut down and sold to the sailors for firewood. Many of the warriors from the north took back with them, as souvenirs, pieces of wood made into staffs from this sacred place. Later in June, when peace had been restored, Rabone (Journal, 23 June 1837) wrote:

> Last night we walked out to the Mafanga of all others the most sacred place in these islands . . . King George . . . burnt down the spirit houses and now all appears desolation he has planted bananas on the most sacred ground and I was glad to see that the Gods & Devils had not prevented their growth they look well and promise abundant fruit in their season.

798 It was soon clear that, in spite of the return to peace, the heathens had not abandoned their resolve to stop the spread of Christianity. Unfortunately, the Christians themselves furnished some provocation which gave the heathens a pretext for further hostilities.

669 778 825 797 The first incident occurred on 25 July 1837. Describing what happened, Rabone (Journal, 25 July 1837) wrote, 'I fired a loaded gun as a chief who was near the premises at the time rushed in and seized me attempting dragging me about vociferating in the most devilish manner . . . .' Rabone did not say what he was firing at, but Commodore Wilkes (1845:181) said that it was a sacred pigeon which was revered by the people. It is very likely that Rabone acted in ignorance. At Kolovai where he was stationed it was flying foxes and not pigeons which were [565] [223] regarded as sacred. In fact one of the most popular sports among the chiefs was catching pigeons. However, there was a *fa'ahinga* (clan) at Kolovai known as Matapā whose land was adjacent to

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personal prowess as warriors they were revered by both Christians
and heathens. They had, on several previous occasions, managed 669
to exert their influence to avert armed clashes between the two 797
factions of the Hihifo community. [554]

War broke out in January 1840. The incident which triggered
it was the removal of some sticks from one of the heathen god- 669
houses by the Christians. Why they did so is not known, but the 798
heathens were greatly angered, and were probably awaiting an
opportunity such as this to make trouble. They attacked and
killed four Christians, and war began. Aleamotu'a went to 669
Hihifo, to try to make peace, but failed. Several other attempts 726
at a settlement were made, but they also failed. Eventually Aleamotu'a sent for King George who arrived shortly after with his warriors from the north. Kolovai was besieged and surrendered after a short time, but Pea, Houma and Vainī continued to resist.

Commodore Wilkes arrived in Tonga on 24 April and offered 669
to act as conciliator.[2] He was unsuccessful in his attempt and he
blamed the missionaries for his failure. However, one of the 728
missionaries wrote: 797

> An ill-arranged and fruitless attempt was made by Commodore Wilkes to bring the contending forces to peaceful terms. He seems to have acted upon the supposition that the heathen were the aggrieved and injured individuals; and when he found that these both duped him and robbed him, notwithstanding his good opinion of them, instead of manfully acknowledging that the representations made by the Missionaries were true, he left the islands in anger; and in evident chagrin at being outwitted and laughed at by the heathen, he

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[2] Most writers state that the missionaries requested Wilkes to intercede, but Rabone (Journal, 24 April 1840), who was present, recorded:

> Commander Wilkes arrived—several gentlemen immediately came on shore and invited Bro T & myself on board—we went and have had a long conversation—principally in reference to the heathen & the present state of Tonga—he expressed his earnest desire to make peace between the contending parties and for the arrangement of this affair has requested a meeting of the Chiefs tomorrow morning. May the blessedness of peace making be his portion.

Wilkes (1845:179) states, 'Believing that I might exert an influence to reconcile the parties, and through my instrumentality restore the blessings of peace, I proffered my services to that effect, which were warmly accepted by the Reverend Mr. Tucker'.

that more ships would be sent from Britain to revenge the Cap- 669
tain's death. They also grew tired of living within the confines 728
of their fortress. For these reasons they were easily persuaded
to accept peace. Fighting ceased after 26 June, an armed peace
was restored, and Tonga enjoyed this condition for more than a
decade. It looked as though Captain Croker's blood had not been
shed in vain after all, and that the missionaries' belief that he had 669
come by Divine Providence was somewhat vindicated, although 728
the peace which they desired had been accomplished in a more 797
tragic way than had been expected. Thomas, who was stationed
in Vava'u at this time, went to Tongatapu in August and discussed
peace terms with the heathen chiefs. King George stayed on in
Tongatapu with some of his men till the latter half of the following
year when they finally returned to their homes in the northern
groups.

Although these wars were triggered off by religious disputes,
they were endemic to the power struggle which had been going on 669
in Tonga for many years, since the quarrel between Tuku'aho and 798
Tupoumoheofo in the 1790s. Religion and politics were so 643
intricately interwoven in the causes of the wars and in the
determination of both sides to be victorious, that they may be
more accurately termed religio-political wars than merely missionary
wars or crusades, as Basil Thomson arbitrarily claimed
them to be.

659 as to the leadership of the church. In 1834 John Thomas reported
797 of King Josiah Aleamotu'a that, 'In the course of two years I
have spent with him he has interfered with me on several occasions,
643 he has got an idea that it is his duty to govern in the Church of
Christ, his place to appoint teachers or displace them—his place
to take into the Society and put out etc.' (Thomas, Diary and
letter book:153).

The consummation of this alliance between church and state occurs in the remarkable career of King George. In a letter to the Committee in London, the Reverend Charles Tucker wrote of him:

> You have heard, I suppose, that our excellent King is a class-leader and a Local Preacher. He is a fine fellow, a genuine Christian, a man of noble mind . . . We have the very flower of the people on the Local Preachers' plan, so far as rank, piety and talent are concerned . . . The King is as obedient as any of them to our directions. (*W-M Mag.*, April 1836:304)

● [798] While the progress of the church and state alliance was hindered
on Tongatapu by bitter opposition from a strong and influential
band of heathen chiefs, it sailed before the wind in Ha'apai and
643 Vava'u where Tāufa'āhau's rule was uncontested. King George
829 was convinced that, in general, the ways of the *kau papālangi*
(Europeans) were superior to those of the Tongans, for he was quick to see that they possessed superior wealth, knowledge and, above all, power. He was responsive to innovations and was prepared to learn all he could from Europeans and put what he had learned into practice, whether it was in the field of culture, economics, religion or politics.

563 Unlike Hawaii, Fiji, Samoa and many other Pacific islands,
which had quite large numbers of white settlers, Tonga, in the first half of the nineteenth century, had only a small number of Europeans and, apart from the missionaries, they were mostly escaped convicts and runaway sailors. They did not own land or establish businesses, but lived with various chiefs who had befriended them (Dillon 1829, II:260), so they could not be classed
659 as settlers. The absence of a settler class to whom to turn made
797 the chiefs, especially Tāufa'āhau in the early days of his political
643 career, rely almost exclusively upon the Wesleyan missionaries for
563

671 through Taufaahau, all the early dances and songs and many of
[533 the ancient customs; . . . Through the suppression of the ancient
songs, much valuable information regarding the early history of
[535 Tonga has been for ever lost.' Section 8 of the new law, consistent
[689 with the teaching of the missionaries, specifically mentions tradi-
[304 tional customs such as tattooing, circumcision and 'any other
idolatrous ceremonies' which are punishable by fines.

681 Except for liquor retailing and drunkenness, for inducing seamen to leave their ships with the intention of staying in Tonga, and for allowing pigs to run loose and damage gardens, the laws did not stipulate any fixed punishments. Consequently, punishments for various crimes were left to the discernment of the magistrates.

681 797 Desiring to inflict penalties in accordance with Christian principles, King George and his magistrates naturally consulted the missionaries on the matter:

> The King [wrote one missionary] came up to ask our opinion about punishing those who violate the laws of the land. They have punished them of late by beating them in the face with the fist. We told the King that we did not like the manner of punishing culprits, but that like himself we were at a loss to give any new mode which would be useful as almost every kind had been tried and had failed . . . We recommend hard labour and to appoint officers to look after those appointed to work. (P. Turner, Journal, 28 Feb. 1842)

[798] The consultation of the missionaries on this matter gave rise to resentment, and mission houses at Neiafu were burnt down and Peter Turner (Journal, 18 Aug. 1845) told King George that the missionaries no longer wished to be consulted on the subject of punishment, since 'the most abandoned of our people might think that we influenced the judges to inflict certain punishments upon them'.

671 643 Thomas recorded in his journal on 20 November 1839 that the Vava'u Code would be put in force at Ha'apai too, which group was also under Tāufa'āhau's rule from 1820. It appears, however, that these laws had been acted upon in Ha'apai long before this date, for Dr Lyth (Journal, 12 Dec. 1838), who was working at Ha'apai at the time, reported in December 1838 that 'The King [Tāufa'āhau] assembled the people from all the islands [of

175 visit in 1793, a period of civil war between various high
669 chiefs throughout the archipelago prevailed from 1799 until
721 1852 (Wood, 1945:29-54).

797 The "missionary period", which essentially began with
669 the arrival of the first successful missionaries (John
721 Thomas, John Hutchinson and two Tahitians, Habe and Tafeta,
in 1825), overlapped the latter part of this period of civil
721 disorder. Between 1826 and 1852, the warfare in Tonga in-
669 volved struggles for political and religious influence bet-
798 ween heathen (often aided by Catholics) and Protestant
795 Christian factions. The final war in 1852, established the
642 dominance of the Tu'i Kanokupolu line and of Christianity
643 over the entire archipelago. When Tu'i Laufilitonga(of the
[797] Tu'i Kanokupolu line) died in 1865, George Tupou I became
the political, military, and religious ruler of Tonga.
642 According to Maude (1965:35), the political stability crea-
648 ted by the unification of the Kingdom under Tupou I, was
182 probably the main reason Tonga was able to retain its inde-
pendent status when other Pacific Islands Kingdoms were
falling under the sovereignty of European powers.

797 During Tupou I's reign, the Wesleyan Mission maintained
642 considerable influence in Tongan politics. As early as 1839,
[643] Tupou I (then known as Taufa'ahau) had drawn up a code of
laws for Vava'u. This code was revised in 1852 to pertain
to the entire Tongan archipelago and further developed, with
assistance of the Revernd Shirley Baker, into the "Consti-

[1829-1831]

some Pacific Islands groups may lessen their influence in their Churches also. The 797
fundamental principle remains: every Church should be free from outside control, 565
by governments or by chiefs. For Churches inheriting the traditions of the 622
Protestant Reformation, Christ alone is Head of the Church.

After the crude beginning of Christian teaching by a sailor whom Taufa'ahau 797
used at Lifuka, the chief visited Nuku'alofa in January 1829. It was then that he 643
had a long conversation with Nathaniel Turner after hearing him preach on the *mala'e* near the beach. Taufa'ahau was now convinced not only that Christianity was true but that it would be advantageous for his own future and the well-being of the people. Turner regarded this conversation as marking the turning point for Taufa'ahau.(1)

No missionary was available for Ha'apai in January 1829, and Turner urged Taufa'ahau to accept Peter Vi, who was a native of Ha'apai as well as the first teacher in Tongatapu. Taufa'ahau, however, disdained the offer of a Tongan as teacher and returned to Ha'apai in high dudgeon. A storm on the way home made him think that this was a sign of divine displeasure and he returned humbly to accept Peter Vi.

Accompanied by Peter Vi, Taufa'ahau proceeded to uproot the old religion 797
throughout the Ha'apai group. Early in their excursions he showed his contempt 643
for the old gods. On one occasion he took Peter Vi with him to meet the priestess 798
of the god Haehaetahi; when they were drinking kava Taufa'ahau struck her on the forehead with a banana-leaf as she threw back her head to drink. Whether she was killed afterwards, as one account states, or whether she was spared, this act of sacrilege was a deliberate affront to heathenism. Taufa'ahau once threw a spear at the shark-god Taufa'itahi, declaring that, if it was a god, the spear would miss. On another occasion, when sailing off the island of Ha'ano, he ordered Peter and another man to be thrown into the sea for a test; the two men safely reached the shore without encountering any sharks.(2)

Taufa'ahau's chief method of displaying the powerlessness of the gods was the destruction of idol-houses, which he set on fire, and sacred clubs and the priests' kava-bowls. He strung up five idols by the neck and ridiculed their impotence in the presence of the people.(3) John Williams, on his visit to Lifuka in July 1830, was given one of these five idols; he took it to England and displayed it to the crowded Annual Wesleyan Missionary Meeting in Exeter Hall, London, on 4 May 1835. Williams also recorded his impressions of Taufa'ahau's strong personality and his determination to propagate the new faith.(4)

The volcano on Tofua, in the west of the Ha'apai group, was regarded with 797
superstitious awe and it was believed that, if anyone threw a stone into the [823]
crater, the stone would return and kill him; but Peter Vi threw in several stones in defiance of the popular belief.(5) Before long the people on this island followed the rest of the Ha'apai group. In December 1831 the District Meeting reported a school on Tofua with fifty pupils.

For some time Nathaniel Turner had been considering the removal of John Thomas from Hihifo to Ha'apai. On 16 July 1829 he visited Ata to ascertain finally his attitude. Ata told Turner that he would not lift his prohibition against the people of Hihifo receiving Christian teaching; he declared, as he had done repeatedly, "Your religion is very good for you. You attend to your god and I will attend to mine". He offered no objection to Thomas leaving. Thomas waited

[1829-1832]

> I am tired of my spirits; they tell me so many lies that I am sick of them. . . . My 797
> island, sir, will turn to the Great God, because I am the only chief on the island; I
> have no one to control me. When I turn, they all turn. To be sure, I did try to take a 643
> ship; but there will be no more of that . . . So no more from me, a wicked sinner. 634
> FINAU (this mark) XXX." (24)

At length Finau sent a message to Taufa'ahau offering to receive a missionary if one came direct from England; this was typical of a Tongan chief's pride and meant that Finau would look askance at anyone like Peter Vi from Ha'apai. Yet it was Peter Vi, who had been Taufa'ahau's emissary in negotiating with Finau, who accompanied Taufa'ahau to Vava'u in April 1831. It was Peter who preached the sermon in the first public Christian service in Vava'u, before Finau, Taufa'ahau, and their entourage.

On the Monday following that initial act of Christian worship, Finau and 797
Taufa'ahau set about their attack on the old religion in Vava'u. Finau never did 634
anything by halves. Placing seven of the principal gods in line, he warned each 776
in these terms: "I have brought you here to prove you. . . . If you are a god, 798
run away, or you shall be burned in the fire which I have prepared." When nothing happened Finau ordered the gods and their houses to be destroyed. Altogether eighteen idol-houses were burnt down. This took three days, and in the prevailing damp weather the smoke hung low over the island, to the dismay of the people who feared that this portended reprisals from the outraged deities. Taufa'ahau lent willing assistance to the exposure of the falsity of the old gods. In the village of Makave he stripped mats and native cloth from a "god", revealing a shell inside; some onlookers laughed and all, it is said, were ashamed.(25)

It was only after this assault by Tongan converts upon the old religion that 797
any European missionary visited Vava'u. John Thomas paid several visits from Ha'apai; on one of these he preached eighteen sermons in nine days. William Cross came in June 1831 and found 1,000 people willing to accept Christianity. In July 1831 two teachers, one from Ha'apai named David Fale, and Paul, a Vava'u man who had been instructed in Ha'apai, were appointed to Vava'u pending the arrival of a resident missionary.(26) They took sheets of hymns and portions of Scripture printed at Nuku'alofa. (Another source gives Jeremiah Kamoto as the name of the second teacher.(27))

The acceptance of Christianity in Vava'u, even under Finau's powerful 797
patronage, was not unquestioned. His half-brother, Lualala, who had been in 184
Fiji for some time and who was politically opposed to Finau, led a party of defiant 669
non-Christians. They built a fort at Otea on Kapa, one of the outlying islands of Vava'u. The forces of Finau and Taufa'ahau besieged the fort. When the brief contest ended the Ha'apai chief restrained Finau from killing any of the defenders. "George would not hear of any being put to death because Christianity teaches us to love our enemies." (28) This act of clemency to Lualala and his followers surprised everyone; but Taufa'ahau and Peter Vi insisted that it was the true Christian attitude. Lualala was expelled from Vava'u and told to return to Fiji, but he went to Tongatapu and attached himself to the Ha'a Havea chiefs, the opponents of Aleamotu'a Tupou. Lualala settled in the fort of Ngele'ia, near Ma'ofanga. Thomas said that Taufa'ahau's destruction of the gods in Ha'apai and Vava'u made the chiefs in Tongatapu fear that he would do the same there but, Thomas wrote, "He does not wish to go to war with the Tongatapu people".(29)

William Cross, then stationed in Tongatapu, was appointed to Vava'u at 797
the beginning of 1832. In January he set sail with his wife in a large canoe lent

[1832-1833]

by Aleamotu'a. It was an old canoe that proved unmanageable in the storm 797 that struck it between Tongatapu and Nomuka, southern island of the Ha'apai group. During a battering of two days and a night the canoe was driven back, and at dusk on the second day it struck a reef. All the seventy occupants were swept into the sea. Mrs. Cross, a delicate woman, was struck repeatedly by the waves and she died in her husband's arms. He was unconscious when dragged ashore on the small island of Toketoke, near Atata, the island off the north-western tip of Tongatapu. Twenty-one were drowned. Mrs. Cross's body was washed up later at Hihifo and buried at Nuku'alofa. The bereaved missionary had lost all his possessions also. In the month following this tragedy he went alone to his task in Vava'u.

There was a heroic quality in this quiet missionary. After beginning his work in Vava'u Cross went, in May 1832, to the northern island of Niua Toputapu, 180 miles beyond Vava'u, and stayed there seven weeks winning converts. On 797 1 June 1833 Taufa'ahau also went to Niua Toputapu on a passing whaler, together 643 with a teacher who was appointed to that island. The people were surprised to 798 find that Taufa'ahau did not force them to change their religion although he did everything possible to expose the falsity of their idols as he had done in Ha'apai and Vava'u. Watkin afterwards reported (27 February 1834) that the first party 797 to take Christianity to Niua Fo'ou, the island to the west of Niua Toputapu, was menaced by the people according to their custom when any unexpected voyagers approached their lonely island; the Vava'u Christians had muskets but put only powder in them to frighten the islanders and gain a landing. Before long Christianity was firmly established on both these distant outposts of the Tongan group.

On 5 August 1832 Finau was baptized with the name of Zephaniah, together with eight of his children. A large chapel was built at the main village, Neiafu. On 9 August Cross held a service when the first post was driven. About 3,000 people were present at the opening service on 17 September.(30) First, the missionaries, Cross and Turner, entered, then the excited crowd trod on each other and almost pulled down the fence as they rushed to the doors. Vava'u became famous as "the land of chapels".(31) The enthusiastic villagers vied with [368] each other in erecting ornate chapels — a characteristic of Vava'u ever since.

Before the end of the year 1832, 660 people in Vava'u were meeting "in [794] class" and there were 1,012 in the schools. On 12 August 1833 the first Lovefeast [871] in Vava'u was held, with 2,000 present; "the thing was new to the people . . . many wept".(32) The 1833 report for the District showed:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tongatapu | 955 members, | 204 on trial, | 840 scholars | [794] |
| Ha'apai | 2,000 members, | 1,084 on trial, | 2,613 scholars | [871] |
| Vava'u | 900 members, | 1,500 on trial, | 2,252 scholars | |

Finau died on 18 February 1833. He had nominated Taufa'ahau as his 643 successor and there was no opposition to Taufa'ahau adding Vava'u to his own 634 territory of Ha'apai. When Taufa'ahau was installed on 30 April all the Vava'u chiefs assented. Peter Turner was present when this occurred.(33) Some years afterwards it was said that Taufa'ahau was intended only to be regent for Finau's young son, Matekitonga, but there was no evidence of Finau having indicated this. Even if it were true, Taufa'ahau had become Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845 and had thus united all Tonga under his rule, and this took place before Matekitonga had grown to manhood. Captain Peter Dillon, arch-critic of Taufa'ahau and the

[1834]

Turner, a revivalist preacher, always tended towards emotionalism. Though 797
he in particular welcomed the movement he was not alone in his opinions. The 781
scholarly David Cargill, newly arrived in Vava'u, and Charles Tucker in Ha'apai, viewed the spiritual avalanche in the same way as Turner. Cargill's statements are illuminating —

> "In the church at Neiafu several hundreds of people simultaneously cried aloud for pardoning mercy. . . . Taufa'ahau seemed utterly confounded, and was seen at one time 797
> kneeling, and at another standing and surveying the congregation, and apparently 781
> irresolute how to behave. . . . Nearly 400 people were on their knees." (41)

The queen swooned and had to be carried out by the king and others. In the 643
middle of that night the king sent a message to Peter Turner telling him that, while he and the queen were praying together in their bedroom, they felt the Spirit of God in such a manner that they experienced "an overwhelming sense of their guilt and misery in the sight of God, and they were unable to sleep". The missionaries and leading church-members had been praying for Taufa'ahau since his lapse into polygamy in the previous year. His conversion took place at a prayer-meeting on 31 July. Cargill reported,

> "The king fell on his knees on a mat in his pew, trembling and literally roaring. . . . Being at length enabled to exercise faith in the merits of the Redeemer, he exultingly exclaimed, 'The Lord has pardoned my sins'." (42)

This statement greatly affected the missionaries, the teachers, and the congregation of about 500. Since then, Cargill added, the king was "a humble, devoted man of God". He was admitted to the office of local preacher on 9 October 1834 and preached his first sermon at Makave on 17 October. "Many wept for joy" when they heard Taufa'ahau preach for the first time. When a new chapel was opened at Neiafu on 10 August 1836, the king preached in an English suit of clothes (the missionary, Stephen Rabone, reported). His text was the same as at the opening of the chapel at Lifuka in 1835 — Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple in Jerusalem.

One of the many hundreds converted in the 1834 revival was the former 797
Borabora teacher, Taute, who was baptized Matthew, and became pastor-teacher 781
at the village of Makave.

Meanwhile the "holy epidemic" quickly spread to Ha'apai. In a few days 2,000 there professed conversion. Tucker reported that he had to close the first revival service when daylight faded and that there were hundreds waiting for the resumption of worship at dawn when "some hundreds were obliged to remain in the chapel-yard" outside a crowded church. As many as five services were held in one day, 19 September.(43)

In Tongatapu the situation was different. Whereas no heathen were left in 797
Vava'u and Ha'apai they were in the majority in Tongatapu. Notwithstanding 781
this, the revival affected Tongatapu, though to a lesser extent than the northern 184
islands. There was fierce opposition to Christianity, especially from "Mu'a, seat 798
of the devil's government", as John Thomas termed it.(44) During the time of the revival in Tongatapu four chapels were burnt down by the non-Christian party, gardens were plundered, and many Christians were obliged to assemble in Nuku'alofa as a city of refuge. The District Meeting of the missionaries had to be postponed because of the hostility.

What should be said of this "Pentecost"? It came like refreshing showers 797
to the missionaries who even wondered whether the world outside Tonga was 781

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authority and assume independence. On several occasions they plotted to depose 643
him, with expulsion to Ha'apai or Vava'u. 669

At the beginning of 1835 there was a plot to replace Aleamotu'a with Fatu, 622
the chief of Mu'a.(9) Ma'afu, Lavaka, Vaea and Fohe consulted about this but
action was delayed until they communicated with Ata in whose territory of Hihifo
was the place of installing the Tu'i Kanokupolu. These Ha'a Havea chiefs built [712]
their forts at Pea, Ma'ofanga and Houma and, when Aleamotu'a followed with
a fort at Nuku'alofa, they protested. Aleamotu'a replied that his fort was only
for defence and he hoped that it would never be needed. It was built on Veiongo,
or Zion Hill, the site of the fortress in the 1807 war graphically described by
Mariner. The chapel was inside the fort but the missionaries' dwellings were 797
outside. Because of the danger of attacks, Watkin and Tucker sent their families 669
to Vava'u. This safety precaution of 1835 was repeated in 1837 and 1840. John
Hobbs, another missionary, reported that the rebels boasted that "an axe had
been sharpened to take off Watkin's head"(10); the wives and children of the
mission families were mentioned in murderous threats, idle boasting though these
may have been.

It was opportune for the Nuku'alofa mission families that the American
schooner *Blackbird* came on 25 September 1835 and was able to convey the
women and children to Vava'u. It was this ship which then took the pioneers,
Cross and Cargill and their party, to Lakeba, Fiji; it left Vava'u on 8 October
1835. Some weeks later, after a truce had been made in Tongatapu, the mission
families returned to Nuku'alofa.

The unsettlement in 1835 was aggravated by a dispute at the village of 622
Nukunuku, west of Nuku'alofa. The chief, Tu'ivakano, who had professed 797
Christianity, recanted in order to save his title. When he again decided to be a 669
Christian he was made prisoner in his own town. The Christians in Tongatapu 798
wanted to force his release but the missionaries persuaded them not to take any
action that would precipitate open warfare. Afterwards, Tu'ivakano, now deposed
from his title, joined the loyalists at Nuku'alofa.(11)

A condition of the 1835 truce was that religious liberty should be enjoyed 798
on both sides. This was not fulfilled by the rebels who continued their attacks 669
on Christian parties working in their plantations or travelling along the roads.

The situation worsened in 1836. Three chapels were burnt down. One day [797]
in April the missionaries' families were suddenly obliged to take refuge inside
the Nuku'alofa fort when an attack was imminent. On 23 December 1836 Watkin [643]
wrote to Stephen Rabone, in Vava'u, stating that the rebels were again trying to
depose Aleamotu'a and "replace him with someone more favourable to their
views and practices".(12)

Tucker recorded three causes of the disputes — the rebellion against
Aleamotu'a, the persecutions of Christian converts, and the opposition to
Christianity itself.(13) He stated that daily prayers were being offered "for the
poor, infatuated, rebellious and persecuting heathen that they would submit to
the powers that be and thereby save themselves from destruction". He reported
also that King George had sent a message to the chiefs in Tongatapu that he did
not want to go to war with them.(14) Aleamotu'a had appealed to Taufa'ahau for
support because of the rebels' numerical strength and aggressiveness.

The year 1837 opened ominously. Taufa'ahau arrived on 1 January. The 669
rebels, believing that the Christians would not fight on that day, a Sabbath, planned 643
798

[1837]

an immediate attack on the outskirts of Nuku'alofa; they were observed by 669
sentries before the attack could be carried out. Aleamotu'a had been on the 643
defensive but the situation changed with the arrival of the army from the north 778
which set out to punish the enemy. This they did with horrible severity.

On 9 January, as Taufa'ahau and his warriors were sailing past the rebel fort at Ngele'ia, near the beach and not far from Ma'ofanga, the defenders of the fort heaped curses on him. In Tongan custom this constituted an insufferable [576] insult against a chief, and Taufa'ahau reacted violently. On the day following the cursing, he mustered his army and called them to prayer before the assault 669 on the fort. When they rose from their knees Taufa'ahau addressed them, 643

> "and told them that he had not sought to be engaged in this war, but the Lord had 721 778
> evidently led him to it in defence of his cause, and that, as they were about to engage, [781]
> no man was to fear".(15) [776]

Rabone recorded in his journal (16) that when Taufa'ahau's men prayed before [781] the attack, "they felt (according to their own expressions) just as when the revival of religion broke out". It was another evidence of fanaticism.

All inside Ngele'ia were slaughtered. One account gave 26 as the number, another 40, and these included women and children. Most of them were the people of Lavaka, the chief of Pea, who was absent from Ngele'ia because of illness, and who was "the chief promoter of the present war".(17) The missionaries' disapproval of this tragic event was rather mildly expressed. Hobbs wrote,

> "Why the king should order all to be killed I cannot say; when we heard of it we were very sorry that the women and children were not spared. Bro. Watkin entreated the king to spare the women and children in case that they (the king's army) should destroy the men of the fortress." (18)

Further statements by Hobbs do nothing to reduce the disgrace of Ngele'ia:

> "Taufa'ahau was most remarkable for sparing those he overcame in war, and on three former occasions not a single person was put to death when he conquered their fortresses. He has, however, been heard to say lately that he was tired of sparing those who used him ill, and that some of these whose lives would most certainly have been taken but for his interference in days of old, now were among the first to curse and execrate him, and blaspheme the name of the Most High, so that he would now serve them according to their deserts. . . . The people also say that the women here (Ngele'ia) were as bad as the men, especially in their curses and aggravating expressions." (19)

The heads of some of those slain at Ngele'ia were sent to Aleamotu'a by [727] Taufa'ahau, in accordance with pre-Christian customs in warfare.(20) This barbarous incident as well as the deaths of women and children at Ngele'ia reflected sadly upon the character of Taufa'ahau as a professing Christian of some six years' standing, even allowing for his imperious will and his sharp resentment of insults.

On another Sabbath, 15 January, the gardens of the Nuku'alofa people were despoiled. Some of the defenders were on the watch and rushed out, pursuing the rebels almost as far as the fort of Pea and killing nine. Soon afterwards, a small fort at Te'ekiu, in Hihifo, was captured by Taufa'ahau's army, with only one defender killed.

On 25 January the most sanguinary episode of the war occurred. This was 669
the sacking of the rebel fort at Hule, near Nukunuku. It was occupied by those 643
who had driven out their chief, Tu'ivakano. Hobbs wrote that it had been "for a 721
long time a nursery of persecution and rebellion".(20) Before the attack, 727

> "George told his men that they had not come from Ha'apai and Vava'u to possess 778
> Tonga but because the cause of Christianity was being persecuted." (21)

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669 A call for surrender was first made, with an offer of pardon for all persons within
643 the fort. When this was refused, the whole of the 300 inhabitants of Hule, men,
721 women and children, were killed.

727 Taufa'ahau was said to have been affected by finding that there had been
798 a plot to ambush him on his way to Hule, and also that he was angered by seeing his brother fall, it was thought, mortally wounded, at the opening of the attack against Hule.(22) These things were irrelevant to the fact of the indiscriminate slaughter, as described by Watkin,

> "Hule was taken and sacked, with a tremendous number of persons perishing after offers of mercy had been rejected and derided, and the chief (Taufa'ahau) dared to do his worst." (23)

The dispossessed chief of Nukunuku, Tu'ivakano, with his followers, took a leading part in the carnage; their desire for revenge could not be an excuse. Taufa'ahau, in charge of operations, bore the main responsibility in any case.
669 Rabone, reporting from Vava'u, made these callous comments:

> 643 "Most awful news. Not less than 300 men, women and children have been murdered in
> 721 the taking of the fort at Hule. . . . It does appear that the Tongan heathen are given up
> to a reprobate mind and are bent upon their own destruction for they have positively
> 727 refused to lotu (= worship) and madly preferred dying in their sins." (24)

797 To some of the missionaries the slaughter had been "a visible mark of God's
798 displeasure against sin". Rabone wrote that Hule had been "an awfully wicked fortress but judgement has overtaken them".(25) Such statements are incomprehensible to us today.

Tucker, who referred to the war as a rebellion against Aleamotu'a with the design of expelling him, commented on 28 January:

> "We hope that the Lord will interpose on behalf of the besotted and deluded heathen that they will submit to lawful authority and no longer persecute the followers of Jesus Christ." (26)

He had not heard about the horrors of Hule when he wrote this. However, he was conscious of the fanaticism that gravely affected Taufa'ahau in this period. On 22 March 1837, Tucker wrote that Taufa'ahau had told him that —

> "he had no intention whatever when marching to Hule to destroy men, women and children but gave orders to spare them; but in a moment it came into his mind to put all to the sword — he said he believed it was a just judgement of God upon the people of that place." (27)

Watkin's comment does not palliate the offence —

> "The heathen have indicated that they would show no mercy. This fact induced the Christians to show no quarter on one or two occasions during the war, and which I deeply regret." (28)

After making every allowance for the complicated causes of the war and the prevailing excitement, the sacking of Hule is the most deplorable section of Tonga's history since Christianity entered the islands.

797 John Thomas, the chairman of the mission, commented, on 15 January, when he received the first news of the fighting in Tongatapu,

> "The news is very distressing. We had hoped there would have been no war." (29)

Nevertheless, his journal and letters show how he had compromised himself and how he was affected by Old Testament incidents. Writing to his parents on 2 February, he said,

> "We would have preferred the conversion and not the death of the heathen. They have preferred darkness to light 'because their deeds are evil'. The obstinate unbelief of the

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> Jews was the cause of their being destroyed by tens of thousands if not hundreds of thousands. It is very painful to see our dear people taken away from their peaceful dwellings to go to war and yet so satisfied of the goodness of their cause. . . . We have heard nothing for the last three weeks, but hope all is well, and God will continue to interpose on behalf of His cause." (30) 797

When, after writing this, he received news of the shocking slaughter at Hule, one would have expected a reaction of horror. However, it seemed as if he was obsessed with the comparison with Israel's victories. On 19 February he preached from Judges 5: 31, "So let thine enemies perish, O Lord, but let them that love thee be as the sun when it goeth forth in his might".(31) His comment on Hule, on 24 February, was,

> "Those who set themselves against the Lord and his anointed had been so utterly overcome that the people in eight or ten other forts had fled before any attack." (32)

At Pea there was no repetition of the fighting at Hule. Rabone wrote on 21 February, 669 798

> "Our people would have taken the fortification but received orders from the king (Taufa'ahau) not to do so." (33)

Again he wrote, on 3 March,

> "King George is waiting with uncommon patience to know their determination." (34)

A truce prevented a conflict at Pea.

Another non-Christian centre, Ma'ofanga, was treated drastically. Both Thomas and Rabone referred to the destruction of the sacred grove at Ma'ofanga by Taufa'ahau's army. The trees were cut down, some used as firewood for cooking food, and pieces of others brought back to Vava'u as trophies. Rabone remarked that in former times the mere touching of these trees was believed to cause death.(35) The Christians felt that their action exposed the falsity of heathen claims for the grove, but it added to the anger of those who still venerated these places.

A special allegation against Taufa'ahau came from a son of Charles Simonet, the deserter from D'Urville's ship in 1827. The younger Simonet, about fifty years later, declared that Taufa'ahau had brutally beaten to death a girl at Hule with the butt-end of his musket when the elder Simonet, who was present, had refused to kill her.(36) The source of this allegation makes it suspect, especially when made so many years after the war of 1837. Taufa'ahau had been responsible for enough barbarity that year without having this inhuman act also charged against him. 669 643 727

From the same source came a story that the bodies of slain rebels were placed by the victors outside the missionary Watkin's house at Nuku'alofa.(37) There was no truth in this. It seems to have been a confusion with the fact that the heads of rebels were placed outside Aleamotu'a's house after the sacking of Ngele'ia. 669 727 797

Thomas still showed a strange insensitiveness as when reporting the events of the war to the Committee in London, on 19 April 1837 — 669 798 797

> "The war is now ended. The heathen have been made to know that they are but bad men and that the Lord reigneth. A few hundred have fallen amongst the heathen and a number of our people have been killed but they have died in a good cause. We shall now, I judge, gain access to the whole of Tonga (= Tongatapu). King George is conqueror but he gives all the praise to the Lord." (38)

In April Thomas came from Vava'u and visited the non-Christian chiefs, Fatu at Mu'a, Ma'afu at Vaini, and Ata at Hihifo. He found them, he said,

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"smarting under the wrath of God".(39) He took every opportunity to plead with 669
them to accept Christianity. He declared that "it had been not so much a war 798
against man as against God".(40) 797

The terms of peace offered to the defeated chiefs, and accepted by them, 728
were — to cease rebelling against the king, Aleamotu'a Tupou, not to persecute 669
Christian converts, and to give liberty of conscience in religion (this to apply to 798
both sides).(41) 622

When peace was made and the chiefs came to make their submission to the Tu'i Kanokupolu, wearing the traditional *ifi* leaves as tokens of surrender, Thomas said he wept to see so many chiefs,

> "sheep for whom the Great Shepherd gave His life and who had opposed God and were now in distress".(42)

All the rebel leaders were pardoned by Aleamotu'a and given their place in the kava ring as a proof of peace. Lavaka, the chief of Pea, was the only one to refuse submission although he did not continue fighting. In late April, Rabone reported hundreds of men were returning to Vava'u after the ending of hostilities.

A special District Meeting, on 4 May 1837, had to deal with a charge 797
against Watkin, who confessed to a misdemeanour and left the district. His brethren who had highly esteemed him were greatly shocked; they recommended Watkin to the mercy of the Committee in London.(43) Hobbs and Rabone offered to pay Watkin's travelling expenses to England.(44) The mantle of God's forgiveness could have been cast over Watkin but, unfortunately, the Frenchman, Simonet, gave a magnified account of the incident. Watkin's subsequent record speaks for itself. In New Zealand and Australia he continued his ministry with fidelity and success. Soon after leaving Tonga he wrote the appeal, "Pity poor Fiji", which had a remarkable effect in British Wesleyan circles and led to the sending of greater support to the struggling mission in Fiji. In 1869 Watkin visited Tonga as a deputation from the Australian Church, and this in itself was incompatible with the allegation of a grave offence of which Watkin had not been guilty. Three of his sons became Wesleyan ministers; one of them, Jabez Bunting Watkin, born on 31 March 1837 at Lifuka, Ha'apai (where Mrs. Watkin had gone for safety during the war), gave lifelong service to Tonga.

In his reports to the Committee on 13 and 23 June, Thomas showed deeper concern about Watkin's case than the savage events of the war. His statement regarding the war was,

> "I am happy to have it in my power to inform you that the war in Tonga is ended, much to the honour of the true religion, and our good king George Taufa'ahau. . . . We have now opened places for preaching at all the principal heathen settlements in Tonga, and there is every prospect that in a short time all Tonga will turn unto God." (45)

> "The war has ended so much to the honour of Jehovah of Hosts and his glorious cause in these seas, our way being open to reoccupy Hihifo, also other heathen settlements. . . . The good efforts of this successful war with the heathen and their gods by our Christian kings and their people will be felt in all the islands of these seas, and that in consequence of Tongatapu having been conquered by the Ha'apai and Vava'u Christians thousands will turn unto God. As even the heathen themselves say, God, the true God, fought against them in the war and hence they had no courage and fell before the Christians like chaff." (46)

When peace enabled the work at Hihifo to be recommenced Rabone was appointed to this place by the District Meeting. He took up residence on 26 June 1837, occupying the mission house that had been built by Thomas in 1826

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advised her not to go with Dillon. Hobbs stated that Dillon "became infuriated" 177
because of what Thomas had done and refused even to unload the stores which 797
he had brought for the mission.(51)

Dillon received adverse reports of the missionaries' actions and on these he based his charges. Hobbs reported that

> "Dillon received his information on erroneous statements from worthless Europeans in these islands a long time and who were opposed to the missionaries on account of the restraint that was laid upon them by their influence." (52)

When Dillon was about to sail from Vava'u on 20 November 1837 he sent Thomas a letter, of that date, which he afterwards made public.

Dillon alleged that Taufa'ahau had no right to be ruler of Vava'u but was "a bloodthirsty, usurping assassin". He told Thomas,

> "By your religious cunning and jesuitical intrigue you have rendered this monster . . . a complete despot.
>
> "It has also been stated to me that you prevailed on your pliant and bloody friend, the usurper, to invade Tonga last March (sic) with 1,000 armed savages, who called themselves Christians . . . You assured these murderers of success, as they fought in the cause of God who marched in their ranks, although invisible. On arrival of these monsters at Tonga, they slaughtered both man, woman, and child; ripped open the bellies of unoffending females, tore from the womb their bleeding offspring, mutilated the limbs of children and thrust them into the bowels of the innocent bleeding murdered victims of that unhappy day."

He continued,

> "What will the charitable British public think, who contribute their mite to your Society, and on whose bounty you live in luxury in these islands, when they learn that you are propagating the sacred Scriptures, by destroying man, woman, and child in Tonga . . . ?
>
> "It is my duty, as a British subject and a gentleman, to bring these barbarous outrages before the British Government and the House of Commons . . . and His Majesty, the King of France, whose commission I have the honour to hold." (53)

Dillon also declared that Taufa'ahau intended to take a fleet again to Tongatapu, to

> "invite the chiefs of that island to a friendly feast. . . . Each of the Vava'u men are to have a large butcher's knife concealed under his dress; upon a signal being given, they are to pounce upon the unsuspecting, innocent victims, and butcher them to a man."

Dillon charged Thomas with being privy to this. There was not the slightest foundation for this charge; no such plot was ever contemplated by Taufa'ahau or others.

The Wesleyans' reply to Dillon's charges appeared, first, in the answers of the missionary, Hobbs, to the questions sent by the investigating General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions in Australia and the South Seas, Joseph Orton, who received instructions on 20 September 1838 from the Committee in London to make a full inquiry. He left Australia with the intention of visiting Tonga but was
not able to proceed beyond New Zealand.(54) He sent memoranda, with detailed 177
questions inviting answers to all points raised by Dillon. The written answers were 797
made by Hobbs. Thomas's journal shows that he felt aggrieved by the questions 669
not being directed to himself but to Hobbs.(55) He also wrote in his journal at 798
this time,

> "I have done what I could to prevent our people wishing to go to war or to act towards the heathen in a cruel and bad spirit".(56)

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Hobbs supplied these answers to the main questions:

(1) Regarding Taufa'ahau being ruler of Vava'u —

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> "Though not the hereditary successor of Finau he could not be viewed as a usurper; he was by request of Finau and the unanimous concurrence of the people made chief and confirmed according to custom by the chiefs." (Q.14)

(2) Regarding the use of the northern forces in Tongatapu, whether —

> "called in by the Christian party to their assistance against the heathen or exclusively a political movement".
>
> [Taufa'ahau] "was called in by Tupou, a Christian king, who was threatened by the heathens. And under these circumstances only exercised his right according to usage as king of Tonga to command the services of George. It is probable that the war originated out of the circumstances of the enmity of the heathens against the Christians, but it is certain that, whatever had caused this state of affairs, and had Christianity had nothing to do with the matter. Tupou would have called for the assistance of George, or any other chief likely to be of service to him, and that the consequences might have been more woeful." (Q.20)

(3) Regarding the charge that the object of —

> "George was to compel the heathen to embrace Christianity".
> [His object was] "not to compel the heathens to become Christians but to assist Tupou against the heathens who were threatening his destruction. Though it is probable that their enmity and opposition arose mainly out of their aversion to Christianity." (Q.21)

(4) Regarding the claim that the missionaries had influenced him —

> "George had long endured provocation from the heathen party of Tonga. And had he not been a Christian would long before have attacked the rebels — and it is likely would have possessed Tonga. It is possible that, had the missionaries positively disapproved of his assisting Tupou. he might have declined doing so; therefore it may at least be viewed as a kind of negative or silent approbation." (Q.22)

(5) Regarding the charge of cruelty, including the killing of women and children —

> "This is partially true. George, having been greatly aggravated during the contest, in the heat of feeling gave directions in storming the place 'not to leave a grasshopper' which is most significant, implying indiscriminate carnage which was lamentably fulfilled to the letter. at least for a time when women and children who came in the way were slain. When this came to the knowledge of the missionaries they told George of the impropriety of such a procedure, and advised to avoid anything of the kind in future. Consequently on his second attack he made overtures of mercy. Repeated messages of peace were proposed. . . . Some of the Christian chiefs were desirous to make the terms of peace the embracing of Christianity from which they were dissuaded by the missionaries." (Q.23) (37)

The frankness of Hobbs's answers to Orton who transmitted them to the Committee in London was not so disturbing to Thomas as the stinging rebuke he received from John Beecham, Missionary Secretary. This unusually sharp reproof came in the letter of 28 March 1838.(38) It referred to Thomas's letters about the war. Its marked disapproval of Thomas's attitude must have been responsible for his pacific policy in later years.

> "The war in Tonga. a subject in itself sufficiently painful, has been attended with circumstances which presented it to our minds as of a very revolting character. . . . The manner in which it was conducted by the king of Vava'u is in some respects highly objectionable. We view with unmingled abhorrence his procedure in storming one of the fortresses, and consigning to indiscriminate slaughter man, woman and child. . . . It was not enough for him to allege that some of those who now fought against him had manifested the greatest ingratitude by taking up arms a second time after he had spared their lives in a former rebellion against his authority. . . . And that he should assign the sudden decision of his mind to an impulse from Heaven which willed that he should destroy the whole fort was an instance of the grossest fanaticism calling for the severest rebuke from his teachers.

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177 "There is great reason to apprehend the worst respecting the final condition of the heathen who fell in the war, but it is very objectionable to have unequivocally maintained
797 that they went headlong to perdition. The spirit and precepts of Christianity do not allow
669 us to dogmatize on such matters.

798 "It has been remarked by some that the style (of your comments) resembled too much that of the sacred historian who narrated the destruction of the Canaanitish nations . . . and that a somewhat different mode of expression and reasoning would have been better suited to the character of Christian missionaries who are expressly sent into all the world to announce the merciful intention of Heaven towards every creature. . . .

"It is our earnest hope that you will take care in your speaking and writing upon the subject for the future to avoid such expressions and remarks as would subject you to animadversions, and that you will faithfully perform your duty with regard to the king and endeavour to lead him to more compassionate views of the character and requirements of Christianity which he himself in fact appears to have better understood in an earlier part of his Christian career. His conduct in the late war in Tonga forms a painful contrast to his humane treatment of the vanquished in the great rebellion at Vava'u."

The results of Beecham's rebuke can be seen not only in Thomas's exercise of Christian compassion afterwards but also in Taufa'ahau's completely changed attitude in 1840 and the final war of 1852.

The Wesleyans' second reply to Dillon's charges came from an examination by the Tonga District Meeting in March 1841. It was not held earlier because this was the first occasion on which the new General Superintendent, John Waterhouse, was able to visit Tongatapu and preside at the District Meeting. Thomas, Rabone and Tucker were present at this Meeting in 1841; the others who had been serving in Tonga in 1837 had left. The District Meeting gave evidence, previously mentioned, that Taufa'ahau was not a usurper but the lawfully appointed ruler of Vava'u. Other main findings were:—

(1) Thomas did not persuade Taufa'ahau to go to Tongatapu, but Aleamotu'a Tupou sent for him when the heathen were preparing war against the Christians. The Tu'i Kanokupolu had the right to demand Taufa'ahau's services.

(2) Taufa'ahau did not go to Tongatapu with the intention of waging war but "on his arrival the heathen immediately commenced their attack".

(3) "The kings acted with marked forbearance . . . and George, complying with the request of Tupou, was, if possible, to act as peacemaker and for this purpose he negotiated with the heathen chiefs for nearly a fortnight, but without success."

(4) "The indiscriminate slaughter . . . met with the marked disapproval of the missionaries and has since been sincerely regretted, and by none more deeply than by King George himself."

(5) "That Mr. Thomas was trying to establish the authority of King George over the Navigators' Islands. No such thing had ever been heard or thought of."

Summing up,

> "The meeting is unanimously of the opinion that a more villainous and unfounded attack has never been made on the character of a Christian minister." (39)

(The District Meeting in 1841 also reviewed the events of the 1840 war which will be mentioned later.)

The third, and final, reply for the Wesleyans came from David Cargill's *Refutation of Chevalier Dillon's Slanderous Attacks on the Wesleyan Missionaries in the Friendly Islands*. This was published in London in 1842. Cargill declared "that the Christians did not take up arms either to propagate their religion or abolish heathenism". Only when other methods failed had they taken up arms to maintain their lawful ruler, Aleamotu'a Tupou. There had been several efforts to assassinate Tupou. The rebels always began the hostilities and they repeatedly

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refused offers of peace. The assault on Nuku'alofa on a Sabbath in January 1837 177
was led by Lualala, the rebel chief from Vava'u; when Dillon had met Lualala 797
in Lakeba, Fiji, he had promised to supply him with arms. Cargill also said that 669
the supporters of Aleamotu'a had made Taufa'ahau their commander as 798
Aleamotu'a was too old to lead them. He emphatically repudiated Dillon's charge
that Taufa'ahau was a "satanic-like monster" and also declared that his former
chairman, John Thomas, was in character the mildest of men.

After this it seems that no further reference was made to the tragedies of
the 1837 war. The truce that was made that year was an uneasy one, but better 728
feeling, on the whole, prevailed for nearly two years. On 14 May 1839, 643
Taufa'ahau's only daughter, Salote, was married to a Christian chief, the Tu'i 644
Pelehake, who had been in Fiji. All parties met amicably at Nuku'alofa for the 585
wedding celebrations. The missionaries who officiated, Rabone and Tucker,
recorded that the *Te Deum* was sung at the service in the chapel on Zion Hill.

* * * *

The regular work of the Mission proceeded in spite of the confusion in the 797
islands. At the District Meeting on 10 August 1839, Tongatapu reported a [794]
membership of 1,208 (a substantial increase), Ha'apai 2,890, Vava'u 4,268. This
meeting of 1839 was mortified by the loss of Samoa as a Wesleyan mission field,
but it recommended as new fields the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Uvea,
Futuna, Niue, and Rotuma (it had first recommended Rotuma in 1835). There
was no lack of optimism with such a list! (60)

The disputes that continued in Tongatapu were complicated by factors neither political nor religious. This was particularly the case in Hihifo. Rabone, who left the Hihifo mission-house late in 1839 to live alongside Tucker in Nuku'alofa, wrote in December 1839:

> "At Hihifo heathen and Christians cannot agree. We do what we can to keep the Christians right but it is very difficult, inasmuch as their quarrels are principally of a family character." (61)

Rabone's journal of 22 January 1840 also showed the difficulty that the missionaries found in trying to restrain the war-like feelings of their own people who were nominal Christians of only a few years' standing:

> "It seems one of the most difficult things imaginable is to restrain these semi-savages from [181]
> war when once commenced, in fact it would appear that many of them actually delight
> in these scenes of bloodshed; we talk, we write, we promise, we threaten, but the old
> disposition of the people breaks through all."

On 14 January 1840 Ata's followers left the Hihifo fortress and murdered 669
four unsuspecting Christians working in their gardens. Aleamotu'a was visiting 798
Hihifo at that time, trying to effect a complete reconciliation. It was regarded as
unprecedented that an attack should take place while the king was making such
a visit. A party of eighty men was sent from Nuku'alofa to bring the old king
back safely. About the same time Ata besieged Fo'ui, the fort which the Christian
minority in the district had built for their protection. (62)

As in 1837, Aleamotu'a sent a hurried message to Taufa'ahau seeking his 643
help. He also gave Taufa'ahau a site in Nuku'alofa for his own fort; henceforth 669
there were two forts for the two kings. Rabone recorded his fear that 798

> "the awfully sickening scenes of 1837 will in all probability be again exhibited, but we [112]
> are for peace, O Lord, and we beseech Thee to give peace in our time." (63)

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The arrival of Taufa'ahau relieved Fo'ui, and this was followed by his offer of 643
peace to Ata. The reply was that Taufa'ahau himself should enter Kolovai, the 669
rebel fortress, for these discussions and should take with him only a very few 798
followers. Before he could do this a deserter from Kolovai came with the news
that a plot had been made to kill Taufa'ahau as soon as he entered the fort.
Subsequently Ata admitted that this was true.(64)

It was under these circumstances that Taufa'ahau and his men advanced against Kolovai, but forbore to attack it at once. He addressed his men with these words:

> "We did wrong in the last war" (1837) "when we did not fight as Christians; then our object was more to kill than to save. Now, I tell you all that we must not fight in that way again. If the enemy come out of their fort to-morrow morning, every man must try to seize and save them, but not to shoot or strike, except in a case of life or death." (65)

During the siege the mission-house, which had been built by Thomas in 1826 and
stood outside the Kolovai fort, was burnt by the rebels. For more than a fortnight
after the siege began no attack was made. Taufa'ahau sent messages to Ata 643
making it clear that no one was obliged to accept Christianity and only peace itself 669
was desired. At last he told his men to invite any of their relatives or friends within 798
the fort to leave. So many accepted this invitation that, when the besieged moved 725
forward to the attack, the reduced garrison surrendered immediately and opened
the gate. All the 500 defenders of Kolovai, together with their property, were 643
spared. On 29 February, three days after the surrender, Rabone visited Ata and 669
his wife; he reported, 798

> "They appeared to feel their situation but are thankful for their lives, for well they [727]
> know that. had George been still heathen, few of them would have been alive this day." (66)

The rebels still at arms at Pea and elsewhere numbered 1,400. Taufa'ahau's army was 900 strong. As the rebels, especially at Pea, were still defiant and Aleamotu'a's position was far from secure, Taufa'ahau remained in Tongatapu. Travellers along the roads and men working in their gardens were frequently ambushed and killed by parties from the fort at Pea.

The next important event was the visit of Commodore Charles Wilkes, of 177
the United States Exploring Expedition, who arrived at Nuku'alofa with two 643
ships of his squadron on 24 April 1840. Upon his arrival Rabone and Tucker 669
went on board his ship, *Vincennes*, and discussed the unsettled state of Tongatapu 728
with him. "He expressed an earnest desire to make peace between the contending
parties," Tucker said. The following day the Commodore and officers came ashore
and met Aleamotu'a and Taufa'ahau with their chiefs. Wilkes remarked on the
martial appearance of the whole party and thought it inconsistent with a desire
for peace. He could hardly be expected to know the typical Tongan habit of
making a good showing before visitors; but he was told that, in fact, an attack
had been made by the rebels the night before and that preparations were on foot
to repel any further attack, hence the appearance of Taufa'ahau's forces.

The Commodore brought a written document which proposed a meeting between the leaders of both parties, and the two kings agreed to this. Rabone, however, thought the American visitor too sanguine through his ignorance of the state of affairs:

> "No one who heard him (except it may be his officers) believes for a moment that the heathen chiefs would meet Josiah and George." (67)

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A vessel, *Currency Lass*, called at Nuku'alofa during Wilkes's visit, after five 797
months at sea; it had on board two French Roman Catholic priests bound for 798
Uvea. Wilkes remarked on their not being invited to the mission-house but left on board. He was justified in regarding this as a breach of courtesy and hospitality, although he did not know the sectarian feeling aroused by the attempts already made to place priests at Vava'u, an entirely evangelized island, as well as the tragic religious strife prevailing at Uvea at that time. It was, unfortunately, one of the acts of passive hostility common between Protestants and Roman Catholic missionaries in the Pacific Islands in the mid-19th Century.

Wilkes placed a high estimate upon Taufa'ahau, with his height and athletic 177
build, as well as his deference to Aleamotu'a as Tu'i Kanokupolu. 643

> "He at once attracted all eyes; for, on approaching, every movement showed that he was in the habit of commanding those about him." (75)

Aleamotu'a, on the other hand, spent his time in playing with his grandchildren,
making sinnet (cord from coconut fibre), or dozing. Wilkes was impressed with [142]
the physical appearance and mental alertness of Taufa'ahau's men,

> "some of the finest specimens of the human race that can well be imagined, surpassing by symmetry and grace those of all the other groups we had visited." (76)

He wrote appreciatively of Tucker and still more of Mrs. Tucker, commenting 177
on the success of her school; he thought less favourably of Rabone and believed him to be aggressive. On 4 May Wilkes left for Fiji. Even in his short stay of ten days he had not been on shore every day. He acknowledged his indebtedness to Tucker and Rabone for the descriptions of Tongan customs and traditions which he recorded in his *Narrative*.

Only four days after Wilkes left, attacks were made on the kings' supporters 669
working in their gardens. In the week before the next visitor, Captain Croker, 798
came four old men were killed and their heads cut off as trophies. One night Aleamotu'a and some of his people slept outside the mission-house for its protection against a threatened attack. Rabone write in his *Journal*,

> "O God, we long for that day when Tonga shall be in peace from one end to another. . . . Lord, end these days." (77)

One of the most tragic days in this period was 24 June 1840, when Captain 177
Croker was killed at Pea. First, it is worthy of note that his sloop, H.M.S. 669
*Favourite*, had brought from Erromanga, New Hebrides, what he believed were 798
the mortal remains of the L.M.S. missionaries, John Williams and William Harris, for burial near the L.M.S. church in Apia, Samoa. It has been felt that the natives on Erromanga either deliberately deceived Croker or misunderstood him and allowed him to take from a cave remains which may not have been those of the missionaries who had been killed on their island on 20 November 1839. The L.M.S. historian in Samoa, Dr. G. A. Turner,(78) believed that the natives did not understand Croker's request because he had no interpreter. From Samoa Croker sailed to Vava'u and Nuku'alofa.

In view of the criticism concerning Croker's intervention and his death, what Thomas as well as Rabone and Tucker actually wrote at the time was important.
Croker called at Vava'u on 10 June 1840. John Thomas, as Chairman of the 177
Mission, asked him to intervene and make peace in Tongatapu. He wrote, 669

> "The state of war was begun by the heathen chiefs against King Josiah . . . All means 798
> used to restore peace having failed . . . we have much reason to fear that the consequences 797
> will be a still further loss of human life, both of heathen and Christians, a circumstance 728
> which we as missionaries deeply deplore but which we have no means to prevent. I do

[1840]

> earnestly hope that you will visit Tonga (= Tongatapu) at this critical time and you may be the means of inducing the heathen to discontinue the war." (79) 177

Thomas also showed Croker a copy of Dillon's charges against him. The captain 669
was highly indignant with Dillon's "most infamous letter" (80) and said that he 798
would expose the lies on his return to England.(81) The strong sympathy with the 797
missionaries that Croker felt affected his actions in the lamentable event in 728
Tongatapu.

On reaching Nuku'alofa on 21 June, Captain Croker was met by Tucker and Rabone who presented a written request the next day:

> "We strongly implore, as British subjects and Christian missionaries, your protection and assistance on behalf of ourselves and families. In consequence of the civil war which is now raging on this island our lives and property are in great danger day and night. Our premises stand outside the fort and are, consequently, comparatively unprotected; and we have no means at our command of removing to a place of safety. . . . The heathen have tried to fix on a plan to take Nuku'alofa by storm, but have been mercifully prevented. They have repeatedly made incursions, both by day and night, to within a short distance of this place. . . . We earnestly beg you . . . to assist us in the removal of our families to some place of safety." (82)

As the missionaries were criticized for leaving after the defeat at Pea, their request before Croker went there should be remembered.

Aleamotu'a and Taufa'ahau joined with the missionaries in asking Croker to be a peacemaker on the conditions he had drawn up. These were, that all fighting should cease forthwith, all forts of both parties dismantled, and that every man should return to his own village.

On the morning of 24 June the captain took his men and three guns to Pea 177
(a distance of about four miles) and was allowed to enter the fort for a parley. 669
The chiefs in Pea were given only half an hour to consider the terms, Croker 798
apparently thinking that longer time might enable them to get reinforcements from 728
Houma or elsewhere while pretending to be still considering the peace terms. Pea was a strong fort, with an earth-embankment 20 feet high and a trench 40 feet wide, and the only entrance was secured with piled-up coconut trunks. Two runaway English sailors, who had been living with the Tongan rebels for some time, were prominent in the defence of the fort. Croker had placed his carronades within musket-shot of the fort. When the half-hour was nearly over, a sailor, nicknamed Jemmy the Devil, appeared at the gate and asked Croker for a little more time; actually, the chiefs had almost agreed on accepting the terms. Croker, holding his watch, refused to wait. Exactly on time, he ran forward, sword in hand, calling out, "Now, bluejackets, follow me". Instantly the defenders opened fire, both with a carronade at the gateway and muskets through loopholes in the stockade. Almost at once Croker was wounded, but he still gallantly tried to reach the gate before being compelled through weakness to lean against a tree where he was shot again, this time through the heart. Two others were fatally shot and eighteen sailors were wounded. The rest brought all the wounded with their captain's body back to Nuku'alofa, leaving their three guns with the rebels.

Rabone gave a vivid description of the events of those days.

> "21 June. He [Croker] has called here at considerable expense of time and provisions to see if he can render any assistance towards establishing a peace."

> "23 June. Captain Croker is determined to take a force, guns and ammunition, to Pea, and so, in case of their objecting to his terms of peace, to drive them out of their fortress. We fear they [= Croker and his men] may be foolhardy and suffer for it, but we are at a loss what to say or think. . . ."

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[1840]

> "24 June. O what a day! Captain Croker and his people to the number of 100 or more 177
> left here . . . for Pea. They arrived about 10 o'clock, and soon a message was brought 669
> here that Captain Croker was admitted into the fortress and that the heathen were 798
> willing to make peace. Scarcely had we given thanks to God in our minds for this 728
> joyful news but we heard the reports of guns . . . We supposed what we after knew was the case; that the heathen had at first professed willingness to accede to terms of peace, but that their object was something very different from that. But O, what a tale did we soon hear, that Captain Croker had determined on attacking the fortress and himself led the way without first battering at it with his large guns. The heathen waited for them, and Captain Croker was shot dead . . . Two of the men likely to die tonight, 17 or 18 more wounded, among them 1st Lieut. and 3rd Lieut. . . . Our hearts were broken when today they brought the dear captain, wrapped up in coconut leaves . : . O, his poor wife, and 5 or 6 children! . . ."
>
> "25 June. This morning Mr. Dunlop, 2nd Lieut., came on shore and informed us that the two poor fellows whom we feared concerning were no more and that they and Captain Croker would all be buried on shore this afternoon. We learnt from Mr. Dunlop that Captain Croker had left directions with Mr. Simmons, purser, that in case he should fall at Pea, what to do with his effects on board the vessel and where he wished to be buried. He had chosen to be interred near the chapel, inside the fence, facing the anchorage." [The grave is still to be seen on Zion hill.] "There are many most remarkable circumstances connected with this disaster, which go to show that it would appear Captain Croker had some presentiment of his death. We all remarked his manner on leaving us, we shook hands and he would proceed a few paces, return and again shake hands, then kissed the children . . ." (83)

The brave but imprudent captain was criticized for taking a large force with guns to Pea when his purpose was to offer peace; for placing the guns so close to the fort that the gunners could easily be shot; for not using the guns but relying on a charge of his sailors. Certainly he acted in ignorance or disregard of the strength of the fort and the resolute character of its 400-500 defenders. The rebel chiefs afterwards said that they had conversed with Croker in a friendly manner, that they were willing to accept the terms, and they were surprised when he attacked exactly at the end of the half-hour.(84)

Sir George Gipps, Governor of New South Wales, as the British authority concerned with incidents affecting British subjects as well as British warships in the South Seas, received a report from the acting commander of H.M.S. *Favourite,* Mr. Dunlop, when the sloop arrived at Sydney. Sir George was told that Captain Croker was "induced by the representatives of the Wesleyan Mission resident on the island to endeavour to effect peace, either by conciliation or force".(85) He gave the facts as narrated in the above paragraphs and made no comment in his report to the First Lord of the Admiralty. The Mission's version of the Governor's report was that he had found

> "that the missionaries did in no wise dictate to Captain Croker as to what measures he ought to adopt but were anxious for conciliation." (86)

On 22 August Lieut. Dunlop wrote to Sir George Gipps asking for a military force of about 120 men with two field pieces to be sent to Tongatapu to recover the three guns (two long 6-pounders and one 12-pounder). This request was sent to the Admiralty but no action was taken.(87)

Criticisms were levelled against Rabone and Tucker for removing to Vava'u 797
on H.M.S. *Favourite* after Croker's death. Actually, their predecessors had done 669
the same in 1835 and 1837. Their mission-houses were in an exposed position, 798
the women and children had found it necessary to enter the fort hurriedly when attacks were imminent, and guards had been placed outside the mission-houses

[1840 - 1841]

at night-time. Nevertheless, Rabone, when in Vava'u with his family, noted in 797 his Journal on 18 July,

> "We hear some reports that the kings are displeased at our coming away, but we thought 669 it prudent so to do, and our brethren all say the same." (88) 798

Thomas recorded that "King Josiah talked of casting us off and sending for missionaries from Tahiti" (= L.M.S.) and of employing a Tahitian Christian then living in Nuku'alofa as his missionary.(89) Evidently this mood soon passed.

At the earliest opportunity Thomas and Tucker came from Vava'u and visited Pea. They were allowed to enter this fort, and others, and to preach to the people within. Thomas was evidently *persona grata* with Fatu, Vaea and other rebel chiefs. He reported to the Committee in London that the heathen chiefs as well as the Christians had urgently asked him to move permanently to Nuku'alofa, and his wife wrote that "the heathen call my husband their *Fakamo'ui* which means saviour or deliverer".(90)

The rebels accepted peace terms on 15 August. Whether the missionaries' 669 persuasions were responsible for this, or whether the rebels' first feelings of 798 elation at the repulse of a party from a British warship had turned to some alarm 728 lest dire punishment be meted out to them by a larger vessel, the result was peace. It was unfortunate that the terms did not include what Croker had realized was essential for continued peace — the dismantling of all forts.

Thomas stated that the rebels admitted that in the 1837 war it was their 669 persecution of the Christians in Tongatapu that began the hostilities, but they said 798 this was not the case in 1840 and they pointed to Wesleyan chapels standing outside the forts at Mu'a, Pea and Houma, as evidence that they were no longer persecutors. Thomas was also concerned about the conduct of some of the kings' forces. In July 1840 he wrote,

> "I have lifted up my voice like a trumpet against the sins of God's people in wishing to kill the heathen solely because they were heathen. I am compelled to believe that the heathen in Tongatapu have been ill-used by persons professing to be Christians." (91)

He stated that he had impressed upon the kings' forces that they should observe the principle, "from those to whom much is given much will be required". He added, evidently in reference to certain savage acts,

> "The kings and the Christian chiefs were not aware of the facts at the time." (92)

It was because of these things that Thomas asked Taufa'ahau and Aleamotu'a [728] to call a "fast day of humiliation before God". This was observed in the new fort (Taufa'ahau's) at Kolofo'ou, Nuku'alofa, with many hundreds present and Thomas preaching.(93)

In March 1841, John Waterhouse, General Superintendent of the Missions, 797 visited Tongatapu. Waterhouse (1789-1842) was a Yorkshireman, appointed, with headquarters in Hobart, to supervise the whole of the Wesleyan Missions. He took over these duties from Orton in 1839. He was an experienced and capable minister who had laboured in English circuits for 29 years. Three of his sons became Wesleyan ministers, two of them missionaries in Fiji. No minister has left so many descendants who have served in Australian Overseas Missions as the names of Waterhouse in several generations, as well as Lelean, Churchward, Allen, and Oakley, bear witness. Waterhouse made two extensive tours of the South Seas in 1840 and 1841, each involving an absence of five months from home, and including New Zealand, Tonga (with visits to Niua Toputapu and

[1829-1837]

This determination that Tonga should remain independent for all time has undoubtedly been fixed in the minds of the king, his successors, and the people of Tonga ever since. 648 643 829

* * * *

It was highly regrettable that the entry of the Roman Catholic priests into Tonga should be associated with fears of French aggression, especially when the Roman Catholic Mission had every right to be considered on its merits. The Wesleyans could be expected to resent the coming of a second Christian Mission into any district already occupied and evangelized; but it was unfortunate that what should have been only a religious question was affected by international politics and also by the residence of the priests in an area where the Ha'a Havea chiefs were continuing their opposition to the authority of George Tupou I. 797 798

The priests could not have realized when they began at Pea that their presence would lead to sharp divisions and be associated with a new threat to the unifying rule of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. Unfortunately, for years the efforts of the king to consolidate his kingdom were hindered by the new cleavage amongst his people. 797 668

The first suggestion for the entry of the priests into Tonga and other island groups in the Central Pacific had come from the adventurous Peter Dillon. In September 1829 he recommended to Bishop de Solages, for transmission to the French Government, a proposal that it "undertake a great programme of missionary expansion . . . where people are the prey of ignorant Methodists". He named Tahiti, Tonga, Fiji, the Solomons, and New Zealand.(22) Dillon offered his services in such an enterprise but these were not accepted. 797

The actual establishment of the Mission was the work of the scholarly Bishop Pompallier, supported by priests of the Marist Order. Before leaving France he had an audience with the French king and received from Louis Philippe a letter commending him to all French warship captains in the Pacific.

On 26 October 1837, Bishop Pompallier called at Vava'u in the ship *Raiatea*. John Thomas was absent at a District Meeting at Lifuka. Three priests and two brothers accompanied the Bishop who asked Taufa'ahau for permission to leave priests on the island. The king replied that all the people of Vava'u had become Christians, and to this the Bishop urged that his was the only true religion. When John Thomas arrived, two days later, he told the Bishop that any decision to receive the priests was the right of Taufa'ahau. Thomas pointed out the undesirability of dividing a people, already united in one faith and under one civil ruler, by introducing another teaching. Thomas recorded that the Bishop replied that "it was farthest from his intention to interfere with us in instructing the people; his only wish was to leave two or three priests to learn the language". It was said that these priests would also look after a depot of stores for use in other groups. Taufa'ahau said that he saw no useful purpose in priests staying for three months to learn the language. Thomas advised the Bishop to go to unevangelized groups and said that the Wesleyans were already operating in Fiji, Samoa, the two Niuas, as well as the rest of Tonga. At the Bishop's request Thomas gave him copies of Wesleyan books printed in Tongan, Fijian and Samoan.(23) 797 798

The Roman Catholics were making good their claim to evangelize every part of the globe. It was reasonable, nevertheless, for the Wesleyans to regard it as 797

[1837-1843]

Especially during the first half of the 19th Century, following the Tractarian Movement and the revival of Roman Catholicism in England, the dislike and disparagement of Roman Catholic doctrines by Evangelicals was extremely marked. Many Protestant commentators on the New Testament identified "Babylon", "the Man of Sin" and other biblical symbols with the Roman Catholic Church and the Pope. John Thomas's words are revolting to modern ears, but he was echoing the feelings of his time when, after the 1837 visit of the Bishop and priests to Vava'u, he wrote, 797 798

> "Nor may the Mother of harlots and her children gain any footing in the Friendly Islands or any of the islands of the sea." (29)

Walter Lawry, visiting Tonga in 1847, referred to "Heathenism and Popery, its first cousin".(30) "Popery", the usual term, caused obsessive fear in the minds of Wesleyan missionaries in Tonga and Fiji throughout this period. Greatly as we now deplore these false and unseemly criticisms of the Roman Catholic Church, we have to recognize that the totally changed attitude, mutually adopted, in comparatively recent years, has been largely due to the benevolence and wisdom of the late Pope John XXIII.

The Wesleyans were hostile towards the priests' entry, not only on religious grounds and because they had been first in the field. National antagonism intensified the feeling of distrust. The Wesleyans and their followers feared the aggression of the French in the South Pacific; for, however imprudent the L.M.S. missionaries were in seeking to deny entry to French priests in Tahiti, there was no doubt about the French authorities' disregard for the Tahitians' interests afterwards and their ruthlessness in annexing the country. New Caledonia also had come under French domination. Tonga was on the direct route between Tahiti and New Caledonia.

On 26 May 1843, after complaints from the Wesleyan Missionary Society in London, the British Foreign Office wrote to the French Government that it seemed "as if there were a fixed intention on the part of the French authorities in the South Pacific to compel the king of the Friendly Islands to receive into his territories certain French Roman Catholic priests". The Foreign Office suggested that the French missionaries should "direct their pious zeal towards islands which are still immersed in the darkness of paganism".(31)

Captain Erskine, H.M.S. *Havannah*, who visited the islands in 1849, was not an admirer of the Wesleyan missionaries in Tonga and believed them to be below the quality of both the L.M.S. missionaries in Samoa and the Wesleyans in Fiji. Yet he was firmly of the opinion that Roman Catholics and Protestants should not operate in the same fields:

> "The intrusion, however good-intentioned, must always be liable to the imputation of making ungenerous use of the firstcomer's exertions. . . . The forced obligation to admit priests was a feeling which need not proceed from fanatical or narrow-minded motives." (32)

After the rebuffs in Vava'u, the priests succeeded in establishing their Mission in Tongatapu. The Wesleyan missionaries were temporarily absent at a District Meeting and Taufa'ahau also was in the north. Aleamotu'a did not offer any protest. On 3 July 1842 Bishop Pompallier, Father Chevron, and Brother Attele landed at Pea. They were received by a chief, Moeaki, who had professed conversion with the Wesleyans but had lapsed into heathenism. 797

> "It was plain to see that the hour of salvation had arrived for the people of Tongatapu,"

[1842 - 1852]

the Bishop declared.(33) The priests soon "traversed the whole island". The party of about thirty comprised converts from Uvea and a few Tongans who had been living at Uvea. The Uveans afterwards settled at the village of Holonga, in Hahake. Father Chevron continued a faithful ministry in Tonga until his death 42 years later and his piety was a cherished memory with his people. 797

The Mission was extended to Mu'a, the ancient seat of the Tu'i Tonga. The priests, like their Wesleyan rivals, knew the importance of converting chiefs, and for years they endeavoured to secure the adhesion of Laufilitonga, the Tu'i Tonga; finally he was baptized in 1851. Mu'a and Ma'ofanga became notable Roman Catholic centres.

As the priests' ministrations developed, the Wesleyans complained about the different attitude of the Roman Catholic Mission towards certain moral and social problems. The Tu'i Tonga and other chiefs were not obliged to adopt monogamy immediately as the Wesleyans had insisted should be done by their converts. Also the priests permitted dancing, smoking and other practices, and did not insist on Sabbath observance according to the Wesleyan pattern. This led to some defections from the Wesleyan side. Thomas expressed his opinion that [798]

> "Popery was much more suited to the Tongan easy flesh-pleasing habit than the religion of the Bible." (34)

In these words Thomas showed the distinction he made between what he called "the religion of the Bible" and the priests' teachings, as well as underlining the difficulty that "the restraint of the Gospel" placed on Wesleyan converts.

A major difficulty was political. If suspicions of French designs against Tonga's independence seemed exaggerated, there was a stronger grievance arising from the priests' support for those chiefs with whom they resided and who were opposed to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. When the priests resided in the villages of the Ha'a Havea chiefs and converted some of them it was not surprising that they became sympathetic towards their cause and critical of Taufa'ahau as the leading protagonist for the Wesleyans. From the modern viewpoint, the bitterness of sectarian strife in those years is difficult to understand and impossible to approve. It remained a running sore in Tongan society for many years. 797 668

Tonga's last war, in 1852, was the final effort of the rebels who defied the authority of the king they had elected in 1845. Unhappily, religious differences entered into this struggle. Captain Erskine, who has been quoted (see beginning of Chapter VIII) for pointing out that the objections of "the strong heathen party in Tongatapu . . . arise more from a political than a religious feeling", also wrote — 797 669

> "The heathen or opposition party in Tonga have apparently adopted the French Roman Catholic priests, with the sole object of holding out against George's authority which he would otherwise have long since succeeded in quietly establishing." (35)

The king's forces were composed mainly of Wesleyans, but they included some Roman Catholics and some non-Christians. The rebels also were mixed, as far as religion was concerned. The young Wesleyan chief from Vava'u, Matekitonga, son of Finau 'Ulukalala III and not considered for the succession to the chieftainship of Vava'u in 1833, was among the rebels at Pea. The Tu'i Tonga, Laufilitonga, was neutral.

The rebellions of the Ha'a Havea chiefs were encouraged by the priests, generally tacitly, but sometimes openly as when they told the chiefs that a French

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[1845-1851]

warship would come to support them. Thomas West, the missionary, stated that, 797
soon after George's election as Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845, the priests 669

> "began, at first secretly, and then openly, to undermine and deny his authority".(36)

After agreeing to the election, Ma'afu (son of the old blind chief of the 1840 643
period), Lavaka and Vaea began to oppose the king. They did this by harbouring
men who had broken the king's laws and, even more defiantly, by rebuilding the 668
forts of Houma and Pea in clear breach of the undertaking which all parties had
given upon Tupou's accession in 1845. The king had demolished the fort at
Nuku'alofa on Zion or Mission Hill, as a proof of his own peaceful policy.

After 1845 the king removed to Lifuka, staying there, except for short periods, until 1851. He left Ma'afu and Lavaka responsible for peace and order in Tongatapu, seemingly testing their loyalty. When he visited Tongatapu in 1850 after the re-fortifying of Houma and Pea, the chiefs denied any intention of open rebellion. Accepting their word, the king took no steps against them, except to appoint a new governor, Haumono Mafile'o, before returning to Ha'apai.

The king's feelings were shown in 1850 when he went to Mu'a and held a 643
public assembly. In this he directly charged the priests with supporting his 668
opponents. To Father Chevron he said, "The rebellion is with you", and, when 797
this was denied, he went on,

> "You cannot get out of this; and let me tell you we are not now afraid of French men-of-war; . . . We are not to be rebelled against and have divisions sowed among us. You must behave like a Christian man or I will send you out of the land." (37)

The tension of the period, with mixed political and religious elements, could 797
be found in an incident in 1850. Uvea (Wallis Island), north of Samoa, was one 798
of the worst examples of sectarian strife in the Pacific. It had first received 171
Wesleyan converts from Niua Toputapu and then Tongan teachers, left there by
visiting Wesleyan missionaries. Before long, French priests arrived and began a
Mission which grew steadily. Under the form of religious rivalry, old tribal quarrels
broke out fiercely on the island. In 1850 two American vessels with 500 people 797
from Uvea arrived at Vava'u. Whether all, or even some, had been expelled is 798
not clear but all wanted to leave an island that was plunged in civil war. The 500
refugees were taken away on the understanding that they would work for the
American ship-owners on plantations on Fanning Island, north-central Pacific.
On reaching Vava'u they deserted the vessels and sought permission to remain
ashore. The Americans, naturally, felt that they had been tricked.

Bishop Bataillon, successor to Bishop Pompallier, called on King George
at Nuku'alofa to explain that the Uveans had not been persecuted and had not
left Uvea for that reason. Tupou took the opportunity of telling the Bishop that 797
many Roman Catholics in Tongatapu were disputing his lawful rule. In reply, 798
the Bishop charged the king with not allowing Roman Catholics freedom of 643
worship; the king denied this and added that Wesleyan preachers were not allowed
to hold services at Pea.(38)

The king himself, however, was not consistent. In 1851, when a Tongan chief, Sovea, who had been converted to Roman Catholicism in Fiji, returned to his own land, together with a French lay brother, with the intention of building a church in Nuku'alofa, he was forbidden to do this by Tupou. Although the king stated that Sovea had entered surreptitiously into the community and he was annoyed for this reason, his prohibition of building a Roman Catholic church was

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[1852]

unjustified; and it is probable, without any direct evidence, that the Wesleyan 777
missionaries supported his decision.(39) 778

As far as the king's political position was concerned, events were moving to 643
a crisis. When Tupou finally removed from Ha'apai to Nuku'alofa in 1851, the 643
Ha'a Havea chiefs at Pea and Houma declared their complete independence. They
refused to demolish their forts and even declined to meet the king to discuss the 669
situation. He had shown much forbearance but he could not be expected to carry tolerance further. The real issue was whether Tonga was to be a united kingdom under its rightful ruler or whether any district, as the rebels contended, should be allowed to declare its independence.

When it was clear that the rebels' belligerence was growing and when they were preparing to attack Nuku'alofa, Tupou declared war on 1 March 1852. He distributed rifles to the loyal chiefs, with the order that they should act only on the defensive.(40) Everything pointed to the king's anxiety to avoid bloodshed. Naturally, he was endeavouring to be discreet also for fear of involvement with the French authorities. Pea and Houma were besieged but not attacked. Four divisions from Nuku'alofa, Mu'a, Ha'apai and Vava'u built earthworks and invested Pea. Ata and the men of Hihifo were entrusted with the siege of Houma. A few casualties took place around both forts; Haumono Mafile'o, governor of Tongatapu, was fatally wounded while on patrol duty outside Pea. On two occasions when Richard Amos was conducting Sunday services with the besiegers of Pea his party was fired on from the fort.

On 2 March 1852, a French whaler, *Gustave*, delivered ammunition to the besieged in Pea.(41) On 20 March one of the missionaries at Nuku'alofa, William Webb, died. In delicate health for some time, he had been grieved by the war and
in his dying moments he prayed for the return of peace. On 13 April the French 643
warship, *Henri*, Captain Nalliez, brought the Roman Catholic Bishop Bataillon 669
again. The Bishop told the king that he had heard in Samoa that the remaining 797
non-Christians and the Roman Catholic converts in Tonga were being driven out of the country. To this the king replied,

> "The report you heard in Samoa was a lying report. This is not a religious war, but a civil war. This you might have known from the fact that the Roman Catholics of Mu'a as well as the heathens are fighting against Pea. This is the same at Ma'ofanga also, where Papists, heathens, and Protestants are all marshalled under one chief, the chief of the place. The object of the present war is to subject the rebels to the government of their country. There is one thing, however, I must make known to you. It appears evil in my eyes that your converts in general have joined the heathens in opposing my rule." (42)

The king also quoted from a letter written by Father Chevron to the chief, Tungi, governor of Hahake, the eastern district of Tongatapu. In this Father Chevron said that the Roman Catholics could not acknowledge Tupou as king because of the difference in religion.(43) There is, however, no evidence that this was the official policy of the Roman Catholic Church, certainly not after peace was made in 1852. The king offered to send Bishop Bataillon under a flag of truce to visit the priests in Pea but the Bishop declined and went there independently. Captain Nalliez offered to remove the priests to Tahiti; and the king pointed out that he had already suggested that they should leave Pea for safety's sake. Being satisfied at this point, Captain Nalliez told the king,

> "If they choose to remain, the consequences are with themselves. You, as king, have done your duty in offering them protection." (44)

[1856 - 1858]

On 12 May 1856, Tupou wrote to Queen Victoria requesting her to enter into a Treaty, and stating: 648 643

> "We are a small and weak kingdom and fear the encroachments of a great foreign Power. We entreat that our independent existence as a kingdom should be granted to us." (50)

Owing to the error of the merchant to whom this message was given for delivery, the letter was unanswered until 1858, when the appeal was rejected.

> "The Colonial Office told a Wesleyan deputation which was urging compliance with King George's request that Her Majesty's Government could not guarantee the independence of the Friendly Islands but that the appointment of a consul constituted a recognition of its present independence." (51)

In the sectarian rivalry that followed the French Treaty of 1855 neither party was blameless. Thomas West related, with some satisfaction, the king's evasion of the priests' requests for land to build a chapel at Nuku'alofa.(52) This refusal was in clear contravention of the terms of the Treaty recognizing freedom of worship. 797 798

The Wesleyan attitude towards the priests' desire to enter Ha'apai was still more obstructive. In July 1858, Father Calignon and another priest appeared at Lifuka with the intention of establishing a Mission there. When the governor of Ha'apai, Josiah Lausi'i, delayed permission even to land because, he said, this was a matter for the king who was then in Vava'u, Father Calignon sought the good offices of the captain of the frigate *La Bayonnaise* which had called at Nuku'alofa. The captain demanded that the king depose the governor. He also required the king to sign an undertaking to convey the priests to Ha'apai, with their servants and baggage, to grant them a piece of land, and to build for them two houses equal in every respect to those occupied by Wesleyan missionaries. John Thomas, writing to Eggleston, Missionary Secretary, on 19 August 1858, stated that he had been present at the interview between the French captain and the king; 797 798 648

> "the captain was not to be moved by anything that was said but considered the king had been guilty of a breach of the Treaty, which he considered a declaration of war, and he was determined to punish the king and his people for it." (53)

Thomas Adams, in a letter to Eggleston (18 October 1858), stated that the king was given the alternatives of war or signing the undertaking.

> "So much for French justice. To submit to humiliating requests or lose his kingdom. King George asked for arbitration from a neutral power but this was indignantly refused." (54)

The Wesleyans, however, had been in the wrong through the action of their missionary in Ha'apai, John Vercoe. John Thomas realized this when he added to his complaint to Eggleston (19 August 1858),

> "What makes the matter the more painful is, that it is reported that it was at the urgent request of Bro. Vercoe that the priests were sent away." (55)

Vercoe had reported his action in a letter to Eggleston on 13 August 1858 and may have expected approval but, on the contrary, the Missionary Secretary replied in reproof (30 September 1858):

> "The Church of Rome is chargeable and justly so with intolerance because she employs the civil power in preventing Protestant teaching where she has the predominance, and we must not imitate her intolerance in our own advice to the Government under which we may live. . . . I have been privately informed that intelligence reached Sydney of your proceeding at a public meeting to determine whether the priests should come on

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1852-1860]

> shore or not, and that this fact gave severity to the penalty on the part of the French 797
> Government." (36) 798

In a letter to Thomas (1 October) Eggleston regretted that Vercoe had acted 648
obstructively;

> "The advice was wrong and under present circumstances most impolitic." (37)

Although the Missionary Committee in Sydney had arranged for a deputation to the Colonial Office in London protesting against the pressure the French had put upon King George in this matter, Eggleston's letters make clear the embarrassment which the missionary authorities themselves felt.

Meanwhile the king was obliged to transport the priests in his own vessel to Ha'apai where the Wesleyan chiefs and people were compelled to build two houses for the priests. This enforced labour was an infelicitous introduction for the Roman Catholic Mission in Ha'apai. After six months there was still not one convert; the church bell was rung regularly, but without any response. It was little wonder that John Thomas wrote:

> "It was not in this way the Protestants gained a footing among the natives of these islands." (38)

The local situation worsened when, in July 1859, Father Calignon was refused permission by the governor to bury in the Wesleyan cemetery at Lifuka the child of the only convert in Ha'apai at that time. The governor told the priest that the burial could take place anywhere else.(39) This sorry affair culminated in the visit of another warship. The French captain complained to Mumui, then governor of Tongatapu, that Lausi'i had not been removed from his governorship of Ha'apai and also that no Roman Catholic had been given office in the Government of Tonga. The captain sent a message to the king threatening to deport him to New Caledonia. Though Morrell comments that "it was all mere bluster",(40) such a threat was not calculated to improve relationships with Tonga. One can imagine the reaction of the chiefs and people if they knew of the possibility of their king being deported; in all probability they did not know. However, at least, Lausi'i was removed from his position in Ha'apai.

The seriousness with which the Wesleyan Missionary Committee in England viewed "the aggression by the French, influenced by the Roman Catholic priests" was seen in the request for a deputation to the Colonial Secretary on 2 February 1859. This was followed by another approach from the Committee to the Prime 797
Minister, Lord Palmerston, on 2 July 1860, urging that such action be taken 648
by Britain as might be "best calculated to save King George from further annoyance and the (Wesleyan) Mission from being destroyed". Still another communication from the Committee in England asked that the British Government make a "Treaty of Unity and Commerce" with King George in terms of the 1856 request from the king that had not been delivered, through error, until 1858. The Committee made it clear that only "friendly recognition" was desired. It was particularly requested that

> "a clause should be inserted by which Her Majesty would engage in case of difficulties arising between him (King George) and other Powers to use her friendly offices for the preservation of peace." (41)

No definite action was forthcoming from Britain in response to these requests.

In the years immediately following the war of 1852, the Wesleyan missionaries 797
were disturbed by the priests' policy in permitting "Sabbath desecration" and 798

[1852-1856]

other practices which Wesleyans disapproved. The priests declared that, even if 797 their converts' actions contravened the laws of Tonga, "the suppression of them 798 by the Government would be a breach of the second clause of the French Treaty, and France would punish any breach of that Treaty". Thus it seemed that "freedom of worship" in the Treaty was being interpreted as freedom to adopt practices forbidden in Tongan law; at least the Wesleyan missionaries so regarded it, as revealed in their comment, "This is the first cause of our anxiety".(62)

More Wesleyan "anxiety" was reflected, not long afterwards, in a letter from George Lee, Chairman of the District, to Eggleston (8 September 1862, from Vava'u):

> "The priests told the king, in the presence of Mr. Moss [his Secretary] that he and the Queen and all the Tonguese married by Wesleyan missionaries are living in adultery. . . . The king is a sound Protestant but it will be a miracle of mercy if he can keep clear of papal and French intrigues." (63)

It would seem that the missionaries were too sensitive in their disagreements with their rivals and prone to exaggerate mild situations.

Before long the priests realized that their political activities and their reliance 797 upon French warships had alienated them from the Tongan people as a whole. When this attitude changed, their Mission benefited. Their real merit, in piety and charitable works, began to influence many people and the numbers of Roman Catholics grew, especially in central and eastern Tongatapu.

More important than sectarian disputes was the Wesleyan missionaries' concentration on repairing the moral and religious damage of the war period. Through the dislocation of Tongan society under war-time conditions passions 797 had been inflamed and virtues had faded. The Tongatapu Circuit Report for 794 1855 referred to continued difficulties:

> "Our backsliders are not confined to those who have professed the name of Christ for a few years only. Would that it was so! But we have written in this black roll the names of local preachers, [class] leaders, long-standing members, and, after having been reproved, rebuked and exhorted, without effect, they have been excluded from church membership. Numbers, Tongatapu Circuit church-members, last year, 2,249; this year, 2,094." (64)

Furthermore, the missionaries had to deal with numbers of people in 797 Tongatapu accepting Christianity for the first time. They sought to inculcate in them Christian principles, by preaching, oversight in class-meetings, and by renewed attention to the schools. An encouraging evidence of progress in the general work was mentioned in the Ha'apai Circuit Report of 1856; it stated that fourteen men had volunteered that year from Ha'apai to go to Fiji and Samoa as pastor-teachers.

In October 1853 Tonga was visited by Robert Young, the deputation sent by the British Wesleyan Conference to inspect the Missions in Tonga and Fiji as well as in Australia and New Zealand, with a view to the separation of the Wesleyan Church in these countries from the British Conference, a proposal which became effective in 1855 as a result of Young's report. His book, *The Southern World, Journal of a Deputation*, vividly recorded his experiences. He was accompanied on his tour of Tonga and Fiji by Nathaniel Turner, then a senior minister in Australia, who rejoiced to see the progress of the work he had begun twenty-six years before.

Like the missionaries, Young had nothing but praise for King George. He [643] was struck with both the physique and the manners of the island ruler, particularly mentioning his "dignified meekness".

[1862 - 1885]

in 1893. He had some knowledge of pharmacy before he went to Tonga. During 797 a long furlough of nearly three years in Sydney (1867-9) he walked the hospitals to acquire a limited knowledge of medicine; he used this on his return to Tonga, with assistance to the Mission staff and their families, for which they were grateful, and in professional services to other Europeans as well as Tongans. He claimed to have treated Europeans without asking for payment, and there is no reason to believe either that his charges were excessive or that he neglected his Mission duties because of medical work.

He never forgave the Church in Australia for recalling him in 1879; he deliberately circumvented its decision that he should leave Tonga and he broke his own pledge to do so in order to become Premier in 1880. His actions in 1885 in setting up an independent church, the Free Church (22), could have been founded on a genuine belief that an independent nation should have a self-governing Church, had it not been for the evidence of his vindictiveness towards the Australian Church authorities. All this does not absolve the Wesleyan leaders in Australia from blame for delaying their consent to Tonga becoming a self-governing Church, in spite of their suspicion of what Baker would do with a Church that he would be free to control at will. The crowning wrong of Baker's [798] regime was his allowing the bitter persecutions of those Wesleyans who refused to join the Free Church in 1885 and afterwards.

After Baker became Chairman in 1869, he deliberately sought to please the Wesleyan authorities in Australia by raising large sums, to be applied particularly to the expansion of other Missions, e.g., New Britain. The methods he used were strongly criticized by English traders, by Government officials in Fiji, and by his own missionary colleagues. A colleague, Jabez Bunting Watkin, was most critical of Baker's "vaulting ambition" and declared that he should leave Tonga for the good of the Mission in 1878-9; later, Watkin became Baker's confederate in establishing the Free Church in 1885. In the early years, however, fortune seemed to smile on this ambitious missionary. This was particularly evident in a year famous in Tonga's history — 1862.

* * * *

A festival such as Tonga had not known before was held on 4 June 1862. 527 It marked "Emancipation Day" and the promulgation of the Code of 1862, and [671] it has been observed as an annual holiday ever since. Over 3,000 visitors came from the northern islands in 49 canoes. They were entertained for over two months with 150,000 yams and 9,000 large pigs as part of the bountiful provision offered to all. Basil Thomson's comment was apt, if exaggerated: after two months of wastefulness, "the land was as bare as if a swarm of locusts had passed over it".(23) The mats and native cloth *(ngatu)* presented to the Queen formed two enormous heaps, "each the size of a tolerable wheat-stack".

On Whitsunday, the Sunday following 4 June, a thanksgiving service was 527 held in the open air with a congregation of nearly 5,000. The king must have 796 felt justifiable satisfaction as he surveyed this scene. The assembly sang "Jesus shall reign" with full-throated Tongan fervour. The first prayer was offered by a chief, David 'Ahome'e; as a missionary present said, "Thank God, the Tongans can pray, though it may be, as one from Samoa says, 'They pray like steam'." The [779] delivery of 10,000 copies of the complete Bible, largely the work of Thomas

[1885]

> Wesleyan Free Church is not in connection with your Conference and manages its own 795
> financial affairs."

The letter proceeded to mention, without comment, the expected visit of the "deputation from General Conference".(29)

The king's grandson, the Crown Prince, Wellington Ngu, died of a heart 644
attack on 11 March 1885. Thus two generations of designated successors, in 764
'Unga and Ngu, had been removed by death in five years. The funeral took place [276]
at 'Uiha. No Wesleyans were allowed to participate in the funeral ceremonies or
sit in the kava-ring. No greater affront than this could have been offered to any [577]
Tongan chief. One of those so debarred was a grandson of the king. At a public 643
gathering at 'Uiha, later in the month, the king gave all who refused to join the 795
Free Church until the end of May to conform "or seek another country — Fiji 798
is the nearest", he said. The Wesleyans now knew what to expect.

During the protracted funeral ceremonies, on 25 March, Baker wrote to the 795
President of the Conference (1885), J. A. Nolan, from 'Uiha: 797

> "I am commanded by His Majesty King George, assembled with all the chiefs of Tonga 643
> for the purpose of doing honour to the remains of the Crown Prince. . . . to state that the line of conduct which Mr. Moulton is at present pursuing must ultimately lead to a breach of the peace between the chiefs and their people, and, that, if Mr. Moulton remains in Tonga, it is not possible to foresee what consequences it may lead to. His Majesty has therefore commanded me most respectfully to request you as President of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference immediately to exercise your authority and remove Mr. Moulton, and that, if you do not do so, His Majesty must hold you responsible for the consequences whatever they may be." (30)

Moulton's offence, at that time, was his publishing circular letters to the Wesleyans 795
not only urging them not to leave their Church but criticizing the formation of the 797
new Church.

Just before the deputation from General Conference arrived Baker received a letter from the Rev. Dr. E. I. Watkin, of Victoria, brother of J. B. Watkin, and a critic of Moulton. Naturally, he was receiving information from his brother. In this letter of 3 April 1885, Dr. Watkin expressed to Baker the hope that the Free Church would return to the Wesleyan Church, but, to make this possible, Moulton and his young colleague, Crosby, should be removed, and the Church in Tonga should be attached to the Victoria and Tasmania Conference. Dr. Watkin expressed strong criticism of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference in January 1884 for its failure to condemn Moulton for uttering words "capable of being construed as an imprecation against the king".

When the deputation (Langham, Rabone, and Watsford) arrived on 1 May, it found (as it reported), that

> "All Vava'u had turned to the new Church, nearly all Ha'apai, and more than half of Tongatapu. We found Mr. Baker supreme, in all but name the king of Tonga. We told him so, over and over again, and he could not deny it. . . . He is everything in the new Church . . . No one can fail to see this. Persecution, fierce and cruel persecution, has been carried on against our people. . . . The king's command is made known by the ruling chief at village meetings, and sometimes by Mr. Baker himself, that they should all turn to the Free Church." (31)

Both the king and Baker, in interviews with the deputation, admitted the use [687]
of force and punishment against many individuals, but averred that these were [688]
"not because they are Wesleyans but because they are with Mr. Moulton, who is
opposed to the Government". The deputation reported that Baker declared that Moulton was working to secure the annexation of Tonga by Britain, but, they

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[1885-1886]

It will be recalled that Langham had given Baker some comfort in 1879 797
when Gordon and Maudslay were opposing him; he could not, therefore, be regarded as personally biased against Baker. Since Baker had violated his promises to stop the persecution, Langham could not believe him sincere when he said he and Watkin would work for the union of the Tongan Churches in two or three years. Langham referred to another issue in the deplorable dispute, namely, Moulton's unwise circulars, when he continued:

> "In view of the fact that Mr. Moulton has abandoned, as I judge, the publication of circulars which were irritating to his opponents and unfortunate for his friends, and which pained the deputation, I do not feel I can now support the recommendation to withdraw Mr. Moulton from Tonga." (38)

This left only the veteran Watsford in the deputation still advocating Moulton's removal. In his brief reference to this matter in his autobiography, Watsford agreed with his colleagues' opinions about the persecutions, also Baker's arbitrary conduct and Moulton's indiscretions, but he also said,

> "yet, considering the trying and perplexing circumstances in which he [Moulton] was placed, and the man he had to deal with, we thought that few men would have done better than he had done".

He referred also to the deputation's conversation with Baker when

> "we told him the terrible consequences which one day would come upon himself. He laughed at our warning, and we left him." (39)

The Tonga Wesleyan District Meeting, on 16 November 1885, unanimously decided in favour of keeping Moulton. Ministers and laymen were most emphatic in their speeches. Their request was conveyed to the Conference in Sydney in a powerfully expressed letter by David Tonga, Moulton's right-hand man. Moulton was regarded as the distressed Wesleyans' shield, even if his imprudence and pugnacity added to their sufferings at the hands of a ruthless enemy. The District Meeting also condemned Watkin's desertion of his Church in no uncertain terms.

The New South Wales and Queensland Conference, in January 1886, received the deputation's recommendations and rejected them. It was influenced in doing this by the fact that two of the three had changed their minds and now favoured keeping Moulton in Tonga. The aged John Faupula had been sent by the District Meeting to represent its desires, and he pleaded emotionally with the Conference to leave their leader. Moulton himself was present. He based his 797
address to Conference largely on the intensified persecutions of the Wesleyans 798
which followed the departure of the deputation on 8 May 1885. He also expressed his belief that many would return to the Wesleyan Church if freedom of worship was allowed. On these grounds Conference resolved, both not to withdraw the Wesleyan Church from Tonga and not to remove Moulton. Events showed that Moulton's retention meant the ultimate survival of the Wesleyan Church, very small though it would be. On the other hand, Moulton's continued presence brought rising friction and keen persecution for his faithful followers.

* * * *

For more than two years after the formation of the Free Church and with [688]
only a few intermissions, many Wesleyans suffered floggings, deprivation of office, damage to property, heavy fines, long terms of imprisonment, and banishment. It was incredible that such widespread and harsh persecution occurred within what was really the same religious denomination; all this was both disgraceful in itself and unique in a Mission district in modern times.

[1885]

Wesleyan ministers were offered much higher salaries to induce them to join 795
the Free Church, and some accepted the offers. The adhesion of one particularly 797
was desired by the king. He was David Tonga, who had been Moulton's chief
assistant at Tupou College. It was generally recognized that he had no superior in
intellectual qualities and in leadership ability; and his integrity was impeccable.
When he was asked by the king to defect to the new Church and be rewarded for
so doing, he replied simply, "I would lose the very qualities Your Majesty admires
in me if I were to turn to the Free Church for gain".

As to the nature and extent of the persecutions the evidence before the High Commissioner and Mr. Justice Clarke, Judicial Commissioner, in March 1887, was convincing, as also were their findings regarding Baker's involvement. There are hundreds of statements in the Church Office in Nuku'alofa with details of maltreatment and injustice suffered by Wesleyans during this period.

The chiefs held a compulsory assembly *(fono)* in one village after another 797
and told the people that they must obey the king or take the consequences. There 795
is no doubt that the majority of those who joined the Free Church did so, not 798
because of the issues involved, but in obedience and loyalty to Tupou. Their
obedience, in many cases, was due to the chiefs' intimidation. It was indeed a
new thing in Tonga for anyone to resist the expressed will of the king. When the
chiefs used their traditional authority to enforce his will, it became still more
difficult for the Wesleyans to disobey. The alacrity with which the chiefs began [688]
flogging the people and interfering with their property showed what scant regard
they gave to the 1875 Constitution's curb upon their arbitrary power as well as
the Constitution's guarantee of freedom of worship for all. The brutal streak [181]
lurking in the pre-Christian Tongan temperament quickly reappeared. There were 797
many cases of horsewhipping, even of women, at the chiefs' orders. Recalcitrant 795
Wesleyans in Ha'apai were deported to uninhabited islands, Tofua, Kao, Tonumea. 798
The worst instance was the dispatch of eighty to the high island of Kao where 688
there was no food except sea-birds and shell-fish. These banishments were so
outrageous that, later, the orders of deportation were revoked.

After the funeral of Ngu in 'Uiha in March 1885, the king had stated publicly 643
his intention of going to Nuku'alofa and had given the end of May as the time 797
limit for all Tongatapu to join the Free Church. After then, he said, he would 795
bring warriors from Vava'u and Ha'apai, and those who held out against his 798
wishes would be hanged or banished. Similar threats were made by chiefs. Much 688
of this talk could be discounted as typical Tongan bluster and empty threatening,
but it boded ill for the Wesleyans.

The long-expected arrival of the king at Nuku'alofa occurred on 4 July; 643
he came with a fleet of over sixty canoes and a body of 1,800 men, armed with 797
rifles and axes. Soon afterwards a compulsory assembly was called for all 795
Wesleyans in Tongatapu to be held in the royal compound. Even the sick had to 798
be brought in carts, the order ran. A pre-dawn prayer meeting was held in Zion [644]
Church that morning. The prayers were highly emotional; and, when a new
hymn of Moulton's, based on the 23rd Psalm, was sung, "the rush of feeling was
overwhelming". The meeting was interrupted by the drum beating for the assembly.
The people almost rushed down the hill from Zion and filled the king's compound.
To his astonishment there were at least 2,500 Wesleyans, including his daughter,
Salote, and other members of the king's family. The Wesleyans had been told
to expect death and their emotions were geared to accept it. The king, evidently

[1885]

taken aback, only expostulated with the Wesleyans and then ended the assembly 797
without any punishment. This was an anti-climax. It also marked the peak of 795
Wesleyan resistance. 798
643

The failure of the king's assembly to quell the Wesleyans only spurred the chiefs to more repression. While the Wesleyans were in Nuku'alofa, the men from Vava'u and Ha'apai roamed the island destroying the Wesleyans' gardens. This had a subduing effect on many who were wavering. The loss of food for a family was worse even than a flogging. After this, some either genuinely or temporarily joined the Free Church to escape punishment; others became Roman Catholics for the same reason. The number of Moulton's supporters sharply declined. 798 688 795 797

On 20 July Tupou College grounds were invaded by warriors from the north who prepared to carry away the students by force. Moulton came at once and began to take the intruders' names as a precautionary measure; he was soon supported by the British Consul and other Europeans. The king and Baker lost little time in repudiating this action. However, Baker forbade any students to leave Government schools and enrol at Tupou College without permission from the Government, and this anti-Wesleyan measure caused a considerable falling off in the College enrolment. 797 798 873

After the men from the north were sent home there was a lull in violence. Baker was sensitive to the adverse publicity he was receiving overseas; then, and afterwards, he put the blame on the shoulders of the chiefs. Thurston, Assistant High Commissioner, came in September 1885 and did so in a steamer, not the warship which Moulton had led his people to expect to come to their relief. The king had ordered their detention in Nuku'alofa for three months past. After Thurston had been assured by Baker that there would be freedom of worship for all, the people were sent back to their villages. Thurston's departure was followed by a widespread rumour that he had told the king that he was free to do as he liked with his own subjects. In Ha'apai, a letter, purporting to have the king's authority, was circulated and was used to bring about the arrest of all the Wesleyans still left in that group. The letter, which was proved to be a forgery, stated that Thurston had blamed the Wesleyans for the troubles and had said that Moulton would be withdrawn from Tonga. On the strength of these false statements, as Sir Charles Mitchell found in 1887, the Ha'apai Wesleyans were confined in the Church compound in Lifuka for two months, "suffering considerable hardships — this done, no doubt, by the direct order of the king . . . who was still in Ha'apai".(60) 797 798 [644] [688]

Although Baker had promised Thurston to restore Church lands and give freedom of worship to all, he proceeded to enact measures in contravention of this undertaking, laws more unjust and repressive than any others. In November 1885, a pliant Parliament passed the notorious Law of the Six and the Law of the Thirty. One forbade the holding of a Church service in any village which had fewer than six Wesleyan "genuine inhabitants"; this would result in the closing of many churches. The other forbade the appointment of any pastor in a village with fewer than thirty "genuine inhabitants" who were Wesleyans. It was alleged that these laws were passed in order to prevent Moulton sending preachers to villages to win back people who had gone over to the Free Church; and Moulton evidently was doing this in some cases. The obvious purpose, however, was to stamp out the Wesleyan cause altogether, as these laws would do, except in a few large villages. Mitchell blamed Baker for what he condemned as laws deliberately 798 688 [646]

[1885-1886]

designed to crush the Wesleyans. Perhaps the worst feature was the interpretation 798
of "genuine inhabitants"; Wesleyans had to prove that their fathers and paternal 688
grandfathers had lived in a village to establish their own *bona fides* as inhabitants
there.

Meanwhile Moulton had abated the spate of circulars calling upon Wesleyans 797
to stand firm in terms which the General Conference deputation considered 798
embarrassing. He was, however, still indefatigable in visiting his beleaguered
people in the villages. His presence and his pulpit powers had a heartening effect,
but he was becoming more and more a handicap to his own cause. He maintained
a stream of letters to the Premier calling his attention to frequent breaches of the
laws by the courts, and other manifestly oppressive acts against the Wesleyans.
His vigilance and his bitter protests met with no response from Baker, except an [642]
occasional reply that the law courts could be applied to; these courts were, very
clearly, doing the reverse of serving the ends of impartiality and justice. Moulton's
persistence proved an irritant and brought no relief. It would have been much
better for his followers, and himself, if he had left the scene of wretched strife.
His indiscreet young colleague, E. E. Crosby, also had damaged the Wesleyan
cause in a preface he wrote to a published account of the persecutions:

> "King George is now considerably over 80 years of age, and his intellectual powers have [643]
> been decaying for some time and he is completely under the sway of his Premier." (61)

It was only to be expected that Wesleyan Church properties no longer in [421]
use would revert to the Government. Where they were still maintained by a 797
handful of worshippers these people were required by the usual laws to cut the 798
grass and keep the property tidy. In Vava'u, where there were only six Wesleyans 686
left in the whole island, it was a sheer impossibility to comply with the law; and
prosecutions, with fines and imprisonment, followed. There seemed no escape for
the luckless Wesleyans under these conditions.

In 1886 thirty-seven students from Tupou College were called to serve in the 797
militia; none was called from the Government College. Each student called up 877
was required to swear an oath of obedience, but neither the conditions of the 701
oath nor the length of service were stated. Upon Tupou College recruits objecting 186
to swear such an undefined oath they were court-martialled. In one case two lads 687
were acquitted, whereupon the Premier sent a note ordering the magistrate to try
the students again and to sentence them to two years' imprisonment. Evidence to
this effect was given to Sir Charles Mitchell.

Baker's mind during the years 1885-6 was occupied not only with his 645
campaign against the Wesleyans. He had political opposition, emanating chiefly 578
from Tungi's party in the Mu'a district. Basil Thomson, then a young civil 622
servant in Fiji, visited Mu'a in 1886 and noted that Baker was unpopular
because he

> "treated the chiefs as negligible, like commoners. . . . I heard enough in Mu'a to convince me that the people, not the old Wesleyans only, were reaching the end of their tether and that an explosion of some kind, not against the king but against Baker, was imminent." (62)

Baker was concerned also about the state of the king's health and he was
apprehensive about what might follow his death. The question of succession to [643]
the throne, now that 'Unga and Ngu had died, could divide the nation. Baker's
own position could be imperilled. He felt that he must seek support for the [648]
coming crisis. He sought it from Germany.

[1886 - 1887]

One of the most significant documents during Baker's regime was his letter 645
to the German Consul-General in Apia, on 26 November 1886, asking for the
presence of a German warship:

> "My dear Mr. Weber,
>
> I am sorry to say that King George is very unwell and I am almost afraid for him. I have thought it well to ask you if you have a German man-o-war in harbour at Apia, could you not send her on here for a few weeks in case anything might happen. Please excuse a short note under these circumstances. Let this note be considered strictly confidential.
>
> Yours very truly,
> Shirley W. Baker." (83)

No German warship came to Baker's aid then. Nor did the king's health deteriorate. What followed was an attempt to assassinate Baker.

* * * *

This dastardly attack upon the Premier took place on 12 January 1887. It 645
was the result of a conspiracy of Mu'a rebels and escaped prisoners. It was not a 668
Wesleyan plot; this was not only the conclusion of Sir Charles Mitchell but it 682
was admitted by Baker himself. It was not directed against the king but against [797]
Baker and his government. Nevertheless, it was used as the excuse for a wholesale [798]
onslaught on the Tongatapu Wesleyans and it resulted in the virtual extermination
of their Church.

Four of the five assailants were prisoners who had escaped from custody and been screened from re-capture for four months by the people in the Hahake district. Protection against re-capture in such a small area was in itself an evidence of the strength of anti-Government feeling. There had been a larger plot against Baker's government in which, it appears, some of the chiefs were involved; this aimed at capturing Baker and transporting him to Fiji. When this plot was abandoned, an alternative conspiracy was formed against Baker's life.

The Premier was driving with his son and a daughter along the Nuku'alofa beach-front where the five men with their muskets were waiting for him. It was dusk. When the miscreants were seen, Beatrice Baker put her arms around her father to shield him. There was never any doubt about the strong affection which Baker received from his children. The son had jumped out of the buggy to meet the men and he was wounded by the first shot. Beatrice then jumped out to go to her brother's relief, and she was thrown on to her back as the frightened horse swerved. Another shot wounded her. The injury to her spine as she fell from the vehicle left her a lifelong cripple. Baker himself was unhurt.

The king regarded this attack as a rebellion against himself. Two days 643
afterwards, on 14 January, he sent for the Ha'apai and Vava'u men as he had 669
done in 1885. He also called for armed support from the Tongatapu chiefs. 682
Actually, all the outlaws had been captured by 15 January. Their attack upon
Baker had been the only outbreak of violence. The island was quiet, without
any sign of rebellion whatever, and there was no need for any armed forces to
rally to the king's call.

The trial of the five attackers and their accomplices began on 26 January. 645
Baker himself was the prosecutor. Giles, the British Consul who was present, 682
commented:

> "It was absolutely patent that Mr. Baker was the moving spirit in the whole affair from the commencement to the end." (84)

[1887]

The charges were attempted assassination and armed opposition to the king's 645
government. Ten men were convicted and sentenced to death. As well as those 682
directly concerned in the attack, others were charged as accomplices. One was 695
David Finau, a minister and staff member at Tupou College, sentenced to 22 years' imprisonment as an accomplice, because some of the conspirators had visited the College on the previous night and had spoken to him about their intentions.

Though the Premier had succeeded in having the death sentence passed 645
against ten men, he evidently did not wish it to be carried out; he went to the 682
king and asked him to commute the sentences to life imprisonment. The king, 696
however, was adamant and, after Baker left the palace, he gave orders at 2 a.m. for six of the condemned men to be taken to Malinoa, an island off Nuku'alofa, and shot at once. Incidentally, three of the six were Wesleyans, two were Roman Catholics, and the sixth was not identified denominationally. These six men were shot in irons and buried where they died. The Tongan people have regarded Malinoa as an accursed spot ever since these executions. When further executions were intended, the European residents of Nuku'alofa considered taking action to prevent these, and Baker himself countermanded the king's orders.

Moulton called at the palace on the evening of the attack on the Premier 645
to express sympathy, and he was driven away with execrations by palace officials. 797
Baker published articles for the overseas press blaming Moulton's followers for
the whole plot, an allegation he withdrew before Sir Charles Mitchell. It was at [644]
Baker's suggestion that the king ordered the warriors to come from the north,
although all the conspirators had been arrested days before they came, and Baker [643]
later admitted that his advice at this point had been unjustified.

The men from Ha'apai and Vava'u, with their faces blackened according to 798
the old customs of pre-Christian Tongan warfare, went on rampage through 578
Tongatapu as in 1885, indulging in even greater savagery and destruction. They 644
flogged the Wesleyans, destroyed gardens, shot pigs, and stole goods everywhere.

Because some of the plotters had visited Tupou College the night before the attack, it was singled out for punishment. The College was invaded and would
have been looted but for Giles, the Consul, who intervened. Soon afterwards, on [368]
5 February, the king ordered Tupou College to be closed; this, as Mitchell said,
was "an arbitrary act".

The hundreds of floggings of Wesleyans in January and February 1887 were 798
more brutal than before. No restraint was exercised by the king or the Premier. 688
The king's pre-Christian savagery seemed to have returned but his age, 90 years, 687
can be urged in extenuation. The helpless state of his few adherents moved
Moulton to petition for their removal from Tonga. There were only thirty-six 797
left in Tongatapu, and, with others from the north, the total, including children, 166
was ninety. They sailed on 14 February, not knowing their destination. Pylstaart 687
('Ata), the desolate remote island to the south, had been mentioned. After they 688
had left, they were told they were heading for Fiji. They were taken to the island of Koro where they remained until 1890. Salote, the king's daughter, was one of these voluntary exiles. Another was Mateialona, a grandson of the king and future Premier. David Tonga, then stationed in Ha'apai, and his wife Rachel were in this party. Before their deportation, the Ha'apai Wesleyans had been confined in a room, 12 feet by 16 feet, with two windows and one door, all kept closed, and where it was impossible for the twenty-nine inmates to lie down at one time;

[1887]

they had been kept there for seven days and nights, and without food, except for 797
what merciful European residents brought them.(65) 166
687
Allowing for exaggerations in reports sent overseas to Wesleyan sympathizers 688
(and Sir Charles Mitchell referred to these), a careful examination leaves enough evidence of widespread brutality of a reprehensible nature inflicted on defenceless people, who were innocent of any offence save loyalty to the Wesleyan Church.

When R. B. Leefe succeeded Giles as Consul, in February 1887, it was 648
rumoured that he had told the king that Queen Victoria allowed him to do as 798
he pleased with his people. This false story brought renewed violence against the Wesleyans. The only modicum of truth in the rumour was that Leefe had been advised by Thurston that Moulton had been too disposed to look to the Consul for protection and that he (Leefe) should keep a neutral position. Without being unsympathetic, Leefe found the almost daily protests irritating and he gave Moulton plain advice. On 30 June 1887 (after the Mitchell inquiry) he said that the High Commissioner did not consider it wise to let the Wesleyan exiles return from Fiji then,

> "not until political and religious excitement has subsided which I need hardly remind you is as yet by no means the case."

He warned Moulton not to ask the Conference in Australia to interfere:

> "the High Commissioner had hoped that you would have learned from the recent disclosures that any such interference by that body would be the surest means of re-kindling the fires of religious animosity."

Leefe cautioned Moulton against accepting every complaint he received at its face value; in one case, he said,

> "you appear to have acted with extraordinary indiscretion. If you continue to fan the flames of fire which I am certain is by no means extinguished, the hope of ultimate peace will be indefinitely postponed." (66)

Moulton evidently needed this rebuke, but the continued sufferings of his people had reduced him to despair. Both before and after the Mitchell inquiry there seemed to be little, if any, abatement of violence; and no relief appeared in sight from any quarter.

Twelve students from Tupou College, sentenced to two years for not taking 798
the militia oath, were removed in irons to Vava'u. There, on 2 March 1887, 688
they were mercilessly flogged. It was one of the worst cases of savagery breaking 687
out again in those days of unbridled licence. One lad received seventy-five lashes; he uttered only the words, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit", before swooning. When asked, on regaining consciousness, whether he would become Free Church, he said, "No, never". He was John Havea, whose forgiving spirit at the reunion in 1924 made an indelible impression on the present author. John Havea was to him a father-in-God and a true saint; and this book is dedicated to his memory.

Such disgraceful incidents were halted by the arrival of the newly-appointed 648
High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, Sir Charles Mitchell. He had just 798
reached Fiji when he was directed by the British Government to proceed to Tonga 688
to inquire into "recent disturbances in, and the affairs of, Tonga". He was a new 687
and unprejudiced investigator.

Sir Charles arrived on H.M.S. *Diamond* on 29 March 1887, accompanied 648
by the Chief Judicial Commissioner, Mr. Justice Clarke, and the Secretary to the 643
High Commission, Mr. W. Collet. He interviewed the king at once and, two days later, submitted him to a searching interrogation. He formed the opinion that the [645]

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[1874-1887]

king was "a man of strong will and independent character", and not under Mr. 648
Baker's control. Tupou admitted that he regarded the Free Church as a "State 643
Church", and he said it was the duty of loyal subjects to attend it.(87) Following [645]
this, the general inquiry was left to Mr. Justice Clarke, with the High Commissioner
also questioning at times. The interrogation of witnesses lasted from 30 March to
23 April. The report and a record of the evidence was presented to the British
Parliament in August 1887.

The High Commissioner attached great importance to the movement for 648
Church independence and he regarded the response of the New South Wales and 797
Queensland Conference in 1874 to the king's request for more local control as 795
inadequate and as the origin of the troubles in the Church. A review of the facts 643
in this present history, including documents not known to the High Commissioner,
shows that the king was gratified by the 1874 Conference decision to set up the
Home Mission Fund for control of local finances and by the appointment of local
trustees of the leases of Church land. The High Commissioner, however, believed
that there had been "an inadequate treatment of a well-founded complaint". He
stated that, if Tonga had been constituted a separate district in 1874 as it was
in 1881, the situation would have been different. There is justification for Mitchell
thinking that 1881 was late, but it need not have been too late. What was not
disclosed at the inquiry, but was indeed of vital importance, was the lack of
confidence in Baker on the part of the Church in Australia during these years
and their fear that, if the Tongan Church became independent under his control,
his influence would be harmful. His conduct both before and after secession in
1885 amply justified these fears. Virtual independence was given in 1881 and
this would have satisfied the king who said he had received more than he had
asked. All would have been well but for Baker's vindictiveness towards the
Australian Church and his bitter rivalry with Moulton upon whom must rest some
of the blame for the disputes.

With regard to the events from 1885 onwards and the allegations of 797
persecution and discrimination against the Wesleyans, the High Commissioner 798
reached significant conclusions in his report (88), some of the most prominent
being the following:

(1) "During these years" (1885-6) "the remaining adherents of the Wesleyan Church were unfairly, and in many instances cruelly, treated. During all this time I am bound to say that neither the king nor his premier showed any disposition to interfere. On the contrary, they appear to have sought by the passing of certain laws during the latter part of 1885 to intensify the difficulties under which the Wesleyans were labouring." (par. 27.)

(2) "I have no doubt that these laws" (Law of Six and Law of Thirty) "were meant to 797
force the Wesleyans into obedience to the king's will . . . The oppressive action of 798
this construction of the law [= 'genuine inhabitants'] cannot be over-estimated." 643
(par. 28.)

(3) "Whether the king believed in the existence of a widespread conspiracy against him or
not, I cannot say. I am inclined to think he did not. He, at any rate, acted as though 797
he did, and by the advice of Mr. Baker, and contrary, as it appeared, to his own 798
judgement at the time, he sent for the men from Ha'apai and Vava'u to come armed
to him with all speed" (in January 1887) . . . "Mr. Baker admits that, viewed in the 643
light of subsequent events, the advice to send for them was unwise." (par. 41.) 644

(4) "They" (the men from Ha'apai and Vava'u) "plundered the Wesleyans right and left, [645]
and distributed themselves in bands over the whole island for the double purpose of
obtaining plunder and converting the Wesleyans . . . When, as in some cases it did,
brutal ill-treatment accompanied robbery, the patience with which the Wesleyans

[1887]

endured their troubles astonishes me, and I can only attribute it to the good influence 797
and pacific counsels of Mr. Moulton." (par. 48.) 798

(5) "During all this time the requirements of the Constitution . . . appear to have been 643
forgotten. The Courts had been ordered not to sit, and 'club law' appears to have been 644
the only law of the land." (par. 54.) 642

(6) "Mr. Baker ended by declaring that he did not now believe that either the Wesleyans 642
as a body, or the Tupou Collegians as a body, had plotted against him or the king." 668
(par. 62.)

(7) "The Constitution . . . has been utterly set aside, and the king's will substituted 645
therefor. The theory of freedom of worship, so clearly laid down therein, has been 642
practically a dead letter from the moment the king determined to support the Free 795
Church." (par. 63.)

Mr. Justice Clarke's summary (69) of the evidence given before him included the following conclusions:

(i) "It is, I think, quite clear that there was systematic intimidation by the chiefs by means 622
of *fonos* [= public assemblies]. . . . The instructions of Mr. Baker to Tungi and Ata, 645
and the sense in which these instructions were acted upon . . . point, I think, to the
conclusion that Mr. Baker knew what was going on, and did not disapprove." (p. 14).

(ii) "The sentence against Joel Nau, minister in Niua Fo'ou, five years' imprisonment and 687
$150 fine for libelling the king was monstrous. . . . He was given an additional five
years for saying that what the king wished was wrong." (p. 17.)

(iii) "The Laws of Six and Thirty were undoubtedly most oppressively administered." (p. 17.) 688

(iv) "The trial of two men by court-martial by Mr. Baker's orders was a distinct act of 687
oppression, for which Mr. Baker is directly responsible." (p. 19.) 645

(v) "I do not think that either Mr. Baker or the king really tried their best to stop the plundering." (p. 20.)

(vi) "Mr. Baker knew that Ikahihifo was doing the flogging but neither he nor the king seems to have even admonished him." (p. 22.)

Sir Charles Mitchell summed up his findings thus: 645

> "The conclusion to which I have arrived is not favourable to Mr. Baker; although great 643
> allowance must be made for the difficulties of his position in the earlier, and for the 648
> perturbation of mind (caused by the attempt to assassinate him) during the later, period.
> I should, undoubtedly, have exercised the power vested in me, under the Western Pacific Order in Council, of prohibiting Mr. Baker from remaining in Tonga for a period, had it not been that I felt his presence with the king, after the warning which my visit to Tonga has given, to be the best means of preserving peace. . . . I decided to show the king that the retention of Mr. Baker in Tonga would greatly depend on what the terms of the answer to my letter should be." (pars. 68, 69.) (70)

In this letter to the king (25 April 1887) the High Commissioner urged him —

(1) to grant an amnesty with the release of all political prisoners;

(2) to issue a proclamation "restoring, in the fullest degree, liberty to worship in accordance with conscience";

(3) to repeal the Laws of Six and Thirty or, at least, to alter the requirement concerning "bona fide residents";

(4) that "negotiations be entered into, with a view to again connecting the Wesleyan Church in Tonga, of whatever denomination, with the Wesleyan body elsewhere".

He offered his own "aid and influence" towards the attainment of union.(71)

Sir Charles Mitchell's good faith and his desire for reconciliation appear in 797
the "Private and Confidential" letter he wrote to the President of the New South 795
Wales and Queensland Conference, on 7 May 1887: 648

[1874-1887]

> "The king, chiefs and people in 1874 felt, though probably in a less degree than in 797
> 1881, that they were fit for a greater degree of self-government than was accorded to 795
> them, and that the alienation from Tonga of so large a sum of money, without 648
> contributors having a voice in the matter, was unfair. Had the appeal of 1874 been dealt with in the spirit that the General Conference of 1881 brought to bear on a later petition, I have little doubt that all the recent troubles would have been avoided."

He went on to express his hope that a settlement would be speedily reached for reunion. He said:

> "If something be not done in that direction I see danger of Tonga drifting into the arms of some other denomination. I have already heard rumours of overtures being made to them. Mr. Moulton, I know, holds that the breach will close of itself if time is given it to do so but I am of a different opinion . . ." (72)

In the king's reply to Mitchell, on 26 April, he promised an amnesty, a 643
proclamation restoring freedom of worship, the amendment of the Laws of Six 798
and Thirty making residence of one year sufficient qualification; and he welcomed negotiations for reunion on the plan proposed by the New Zealand Conference (1887, p. 69, Minutes) if the High Commissioner would initiate these negotiations. He concluded:

> "I am prepared to promise that there shall be no more persecutions of Wesleyans because of their religion, and should any chief do so he shall be judged." (73)

The next three years would show whether these promises were honoured and whether there was a real hope of reunion or even freedom of worship.

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**Footnotes:** 113

(1) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. F.W.C.
(2) Gordon, Sir Arthur, *Public and Private Life*, Vol. IV, p.158.
(3) Gordon, ibid, Vol. IV, p.205.
(4) Gordon to Chapman, Mission Board Minutes, 3 January 1881.
(5) Gordon, ibid, Vol. IV. p.314.
(6) Cummins, H. G., *Sources of Tongan History*, p.281.
(7) Gordon, ibid, Vol. IV, pp.381-4.
(8) Gordon, ibid, Vol. IV, p.370.
(9) Circuit Reports. F.W.C.
(10) Eggleston, J. W., *Papers*.
(11) Mission Board Minutes, 10 September 1880. M.O.M.C.
(12) ibid.
(13) Mitchell, Sir Charles, *Report of Inquiry 1887*, p.96.
(14) Oldmeadow, H. C., *Diaries*, 9 October 1882.
(15) ibid, 21 December 1882; 12 December 1883.
(16) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. F.W.C.
(17) Oldmeadow, H. C., *Journal*. A.N.U.
(18) Baker to President. Item 169. M.O.M.C.
(19) Moulton to Chapman, 2 January 1879. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.
(20) Minns to Chapman, 2 April 1879. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(21) Mitchell, *Appendix to Report in connection with the recent difficulties in, and the affairs of, Tonga, 1887*, p.79.
(22) General Conference Minutes, 1881.
(23) *Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record*, 28 May 1881.
(24) Waterhouse, J. B., *The Secession and Persecution in Tonga*, p.6; Rutherford, N., *Shirley Baker and the King of Tonga*, p.102.
(25) Correspondence, King and Moulton, 18 September 1881. F.W.C.
(26) *Tongan Papers*. N.L.C.
(27) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. F.W.C.
(28) Mission Board Minutes. M.O.M.C.
(29) Oldmeadow, H. C., *Journal*. A.N.U.
(30) Gordon to F.O., 15 July 1882, F.O., 58/177; Rutherford, ibid, p.120.
(31) Oldmeadow, *Diaries*.
(32) Minutes, ibid.

[1888]

relinquished that position in 1907, he exercised a dominating influence upon 795
missionary policy, including the establishment of new Missions in Papua (Islands 797
Region) and the Solomon Islands. In his autobiography he stated his belief that his efforts towards reconciliation in Tonga were the most difficult but the most satisfying, for him personally, of all his missionary tasks. Unfortunately, his efforts were fruitless.

When he accepted the assignment to Tonga, Brown told General Conference that he would do his utmost but he did not hold out much hope of success. Although he had been regarded as a supporter of Baker, he was apprehensive about what was likely to happen in Tonga.

Brown could not reside continuously in Tonga because of his duties as Missionary Secretary in Sydney. Throughout the first period (7 August to 7 December 1888), he did everything possible to conciliate the Free Church party and in doing this he ran the risk of the Wesleyans fearing that he was being unfaithful to them. He attempted to cultivate friendly relations with Baker and Watkin. Moulton left on 11 August, with demonstrations of gratitude from all the Wesleyans.

After Moulton's departure Brown hoped for an easing of tension. However, 795
he was disturbed by the failure of the king or Baker to honour the promises made 797
to Sir Charles Mitchell. No proclamation of freedom of worship had been issued. 798
The general amnesty had not been given. Eight Wesleyans sent to the uninhabited 687
island of Tofua early in 1887 were still there. The exiles in Fiji had not been 688
recalled. Brown asked Baker several times about their return, without any response. Wesleyans sentenced to two years for refusing the militia oath were still imprisoned in Vava'u, although (when Brown reported this in his second visit in 1889) their sentences of two years had expired; these were the men whose conviction the Chief Judicial Commissioner in 1887 had said to be "a distinct act of oppression, for which Mr. Baker is directly answerable".(8) In addition, Brown found that Wesleyans were still subjected to "mean and cowardly persecutions", interference with their hours of worship, the placing of new Free Church buildings close to existing Wesleyan buildings (in some cases within 50 feet), and Wesleyans not being allowed to hold Government positions.

In the king's speech to Parliament on 21 November 1888, he expressed his 795
will for 797

> "the Free Church never to be governed from abroad. Should there be a time when it can be joined to the Wesleyan Church, in accordance with my request made to the General Conference at Melbourne" (in May 1888) "I shall be glad; but if not let it be so."

It was the last word of the old king regarding the possibility of reunion. Baker was responsible for both the king's speech and his communications with General Conference. What Baker actually was doing was the test of his genuineness rather than the words he put into the king's mouth so as to make a good impression. Everything Baker did was blocking reunion, as George Brown found. The 1888 message to General Conference and the 1888 king's speech, however, remained on record and found fulfilment in 1924 when the king's words were accepted by the Chief Justice of the day as validating the reunion that had come at last. It was ironical then that Baker's words had sealed the reunion of 1924.

[1888-1890]

In Brown's report after his first visit, he declared that, if union could be effected, 795 797

(1) Mr. Watkin and his ministers should be "recognized as fully accredited ministers in our Church." (p. 1.) (9)

(2) Moulton's removal had been justified and, if it had taken place years before, the Wesleyans would have been in a different position. Though they admired Moulton greatly for his work,

> "they all know that he was personally obnoxious to the Government and that their own sufferings and disabilities were increased by that fact." (p.11.)

(3) "There is no real desire for union on the part of Mr. Baker and Mr. Watkin. . . . They simply wish to absorb our people and have no wish for anything else." (p. 12.)

(4) The Free Church ministers were opposed to union because they feared loss of their positions and higher salaries. [793]

(5) The Wesleyans felt that they had suffered so cruelly that they could not, for some time at least, agree to unite. [798]

In Brown's subsequent visits (14 May to 15 October 1889, 21 March to 26 April 1890, 12 September to 12 November 1890), his hopes of a response from the Premier were completely dissipated. (He had been deported on 17 July 1890, before Brown's fourth visit.) During the second and third visits, the correspondence between the two men, concerning the continued disabilities of the Wesleyans, became almost as acrimonious as letters between Moulton and Baker had been. When Brown pointed out the difficulties arising from the proximity of new Free Church buildings to the Wesleyan, Baker, on 2 July 1889, wrote:

> "I had not thought they would create any difficulty in the future as I was in hope that at the next General Conference the two Churches would be united, a hope which your late visit to the colonies has destroyed." (10)

This remark showed Baker's resentment of the publicity given to Wesleyans' sufferings in Brown's addresses to congregations in Australia, after his first residence in Tonga. His assumed hope of reunion at the next General Conference was totally inconsistent with his actions.

So grave was the non-fulfilment of the promises made to Sir Charles Mitchell in 1887 that the next General Conference, in May 1890, in Sydney, resolved 795 797 648

> "earnestly to solicit through Sir John Thurston, High Commissioner, the good offices of Her Majesty's Government to secure the fulfilment of the promises made by His Majesty the King of Tonga to the late High Commissioner, Sir Charles Mitchell, more especially the proclamation of freedom of worship, the removal of existing disabilities, and the return of the Tongan exiles in Fiji and Tofua to their own land." (11)

This resolution was carried by 94 votes to five.(12)

Brown had gone to Tonga as a reconciler. He had accepted conditions patiently until it was clear that, as he said, 795 797

> "Mr. Baker had shown most plainly that he and those associated with him would be satisfied with nothing less than the abandonment of our people and the withdrawal of our Church from Tonga, and that for the accomplishment of this purpose a system of intimidation and coercion was being carried on." (13)

The opinion of the veteran, John Watsford, formerly of Fiji, who had visited Tonga in the General Conference deputation of 1885 and had recommended

[1887-1889]

Moulton's withdrawal then, was impartial and clear. In his autobiography, he wrote, 795 797

> "Mr. Brown, who had always been regarded as Mr. Baker's friend, and to some extent his advocate, went on his mission, and did his very best to conciliate and to promote peace. His report still more seriously inculpated Mr. Baker than any that had gone before." (14)

* * * *

Baker had more than the interminable Church disputes to trouble him. In 645 his political ambitions the Premier had hoped for German support; he had 648 earnestly asked Weber to send a German warship on 26 November 1886. The *Adler* arrived at Nuku'alofa in September 1887, but the British warship *Opal*, sent by the High Commissioner, had anchored a few days before the German vessel which withdrew from the scene at once. The *Opal* stayed at Nuku'alofa until January 1888, the unusually long period indicating the delicate international situation and British concern about Baker's activities. The presence of a British warship for four months considerably worried the Premier.

After the *Opal* left Baker thought himself secure again. Soon, however, he was to fall, because in his arrogance he ventured to defame senior British officials. In maintaining his power year after year he had met many difficulties, but he had always cleverly outwitted his opponents. This could hardly last for ever. Perhaps the long and perilous confrontations made him reckless or seriously affected his powers of judgment.

Sir John Thurston had become High Commissioner in February 1888. He had been critical of Moulton and had given Baker some comfort in his visit to Tonga in September 1885. He had believed that the Wesleyan Church authorities in Australia had shown "violent and often unwarranted hostility" towards Baker.(15) Thurston had advised Sir Charles Mitchell not to deport Baker in the 1887 inquiry when Mitchell had wished to do this.(16) Baker's pro-German leanings, however, were still causing suspicions, although evidently the British authorities did not know at that time that Baker had requested a German warship to be sent from Samoa to support him in November 1886. Thurston was beginning to agree with Gordon in regard to Baker's unreliability.

The failure to honour the promises made to Mitchell, regarding freedom of [798] worship &c., was a strong reason for Thurston's growing dissatisfaction. In August 1888, he declared

> "he did not think there could be peace in Tonga while Shirley Baker was there." (17)

In this report, Thurston added,

> "The engagements of the king of Tonga set forth in his letter to Sir Charles Mitchell have not been kept nor do I think they will be so long as Mr. Baker remains in Tonga to direct the course of affairs." (18)

By April 1889, Thurston recorded that he had long lost all confidence in Baker.(19)

The Consul in Nuku'alofa, R. B. Leefe, who had endeavoured to be neutral and who had tried to restrain Moulton's persistent protests, had become convinced of Baker's lack of integrity and also the political dangers attending his continued tenure of office. He wrote to Thurston, on 23 April 1889:

> "I cannot see that any good can come in allowing Mr. Baker to remain longer in Tonga. If two years ago his influence with the king was of avail in moderating persecution — and I believe it was at the time for he was thoroughly frightened — I think his influence

[1890]

of women, led by the chieftainess who would have been Tu'i Tonga Fefine, 645
placed around Thurston's neck the garland offered to the Tu'i Tonga as a sacred 648
duty in ancient times.(23)
565

Baker's career of thirty years as missionary and Premier closed in humiliating 645
circumstances. He had many achievements in secular affairs to his credit — his advice to the king in earlier years, the draft of the Constitution, and his administration since 1880 which, in spite of the confusion of the period, had shown his executive ability and his flair for legislation in many fields. He might have prolonged his regime and added to his administrative record had it not been for his controversial policies.

The saddest legacy of Baker's thirty years was a divided Tonga, with memories of quarrels and persecutions that would delay any possibility of unity for many a long year. The old Tongan proverb was applied to Baker — "The string-ray has gone but the barb is left".

* * * *

The departure of Baker was acclaimed by the Church in Australia as a 795
vindication of the Wesleyans' cause; their jubiliation was not helpful to the 797
delicate situation in Tonga. Baker's removal made no difference whatever to the [645]
Free Church party. Sir John Thurston, writing on the day Baker left (17 July
1890), made this clear to Dr. Kelynack, President of the Australian General Conference —

> "The King and all the higher chiefs who met His Excellency appear firmly attached to the Free Church. Any indication of an attack upon it would, in His Excellency's opinion, be followed by a determined resistance." (24) [643]

Thurston believed that, if Tonga was recognized as a Conference, as recommended by George Brown, re-union was possible; but this, unfortunately, was an unsubstantial hope.

After Baker's removal the king readily assented to the return of the exiled 797
Wesleyans who had been at Koro, in Fiji, for over three years. They now numbered 798
130, including children. Sir John Thurston and his staff personally farewelled 166
them on the wharf in Suva. Tupou's daughter, Salote, was one of them. They [643]
returned to Nuku'alofa on 19 August 1890, in no exultant spirit, but with the Tongan traditional forms of humility and submission to the king. Some of the Free Church ministers who had often made pointed allusions to an imagined threat of British annexation went so far as to preach against the returning Wesleyans, alleging falsely that they had taken the oath of allegiance to the British Crown during their sojourn in Fiji.

That genuine religion could survive the bitter strife of the previous decade 771
was little short of miraculous. Religion had been indeed discredited in the eyes of many people, Tongans and Europeans. Basil Thomson, though not unbiassed concerning Missions, had grounds for his observation:

> "The Tongans, an intelligent people . . . have seen the Mission first support and then dismiss their Chairman for questionable practices. They have seen religion and the Churches made use of as a mere political instrument for the personal aggrandizement of one man. . . . It is to be feared that the Tongans, with whom religion has already become a mere form, will have little to show for the self-denying work of the early missionaries." (25)

accounts. As Thomas wrote in September of 1826:

> Early this morning a canoe arrived here from the Hapies [or Ha'apai] (to the Inache [*'inasi*]) which brought intelligence that they were at war at the Hapie Islands. The King [Taufa'ahau] of the Hapies and the Tui of Tonga (as he is called) have fallen out. However we expect it to be of short continuance to Tooi or King of Hapie is likely to be the worst of it, as the other islands are all against him.[57] 669 [114]

By the end of October the battle still raged in the Ha'apai Islands, and Hutchinson wrote back to England: "The war at the Hapies continues to rage. If the King of Tonga [Laufilitonga] should be overcome, we shall soon be in serious circumstances; and something of this is expected, as the people have received orders to prepare for war".[58]

Taufa'ahau was eventually victorious, and his star in the Tongan firmament began to rise. [643]

### THE WESLEYANS AND ACCELERATED CHANGES

Although it may not have been deliberate missionary policy, the Wesleyan approach was literally that of "divide-and-conquer" as they turned Tongan against Tongan. The three religious wars in 1837, 1840, and 1852 were ferocious. Of the 1840 war, Thomas wrote that he told the Tu'i Kanokupolu Jiosaia Tupou that "the heathens [or non-Wesleyan Tongans] had acted more kind a great deal than the Christians and that they were less disposed for war".[59] The Wesleyan missionary P. Turner, commenting on one battle, stated: "The heathens seem determined to die in their foolishness. I am told that they have made an oath to do so, before they will yield to the Xtns.[60] 797 669 798

Tongan society was altered from within and from without: from within by Tongans who were desirous of change, and from without by Europeans who were advising and encouraging the Tongans to change. This internal and external restructuring process, however, must be viewed as a complementary one. Without the presence of the Wesleyan missionaries Tongan society would never have developed as it did. 177 178 797

The Wesleyans were aided in their restructuring process by the occasional appearance of vessels of the British Navy in Tongan waters. On visits from passing British vessels Thomas wrote: "From what I have heard by the natives in reference to the visit of His Majesty's Ship of War at Vavow, the effect will be very beneficial and lasting. The [Tongan] King and his people seem to think that religion is of more importance now than they were willing to believe."[61] 797 648

The Wesleyans also tried to get various ships to "remove" some of the beachcombers in the archipelago. The British vessel H.M.S. *Seringapatam* arrived at the islands in 1830, and the captain removed some Frenchmen who were "troublemakers".[62] 797 648 563

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57. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for Sept. 25, 1826.
58. Hutchinson 1826.
59. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for Aug. 4, 1840.
60. Turner, P. n.d.: entry for July 19, 1840.
61. Thomas 1830.
62. Thomas n.d. *Journals*: entry for June 10, 1830.

[1822-1844)

abandon the new religion. Josiah Tubou accepted this and from this 634
moment Tongatapu had one lord again (Lawry 1850, p. 236 ff.; Farmer, 643
p. 167; Geschichte der chr. M., p. 78; West, p 57, 279). Josiah 797
continued regarding the missionaries with goodwill and left them free to preach. In 1830 he became Christian again and allowed himself to be baptized. Soon Taufaahau, ruler of the Haapai Islands, also joined the new religion (Geschichte der chr. M., p. 100). According to the church historian Neill this was the decisive moment in the conversion of the Tonga Islands (p. 298). From this time onward Taufaahau was called George Tubou. In his turn he led his friend Finau IV of Vavau to Christianity (Geschichte der chr. M., p. 103; Lawry 1851, p. 68). When the latter died in 1833, he left his territory to George Tubou, who therefore became one of the most powerful persons in the Tonga Islands, as appears from the writings of all the visitors of those years (Wilkes, III, p. 10; Lawry 1850, p. 238; ib. 1851, p. 68; Farmer, p. 235).

Gradually two parties were forming on Tongatapu, who were naturally 797
called the "Christians" and the "Heathens" by the missionaries. The 798
leader of the former party was Josiah Tubou, the *Tui Kanokupolu*, of 643
the latter party the *Ata*, a prominent official from the Hihifo district. 669
In the conflicts between these two parties George Tubou came to the [634)
aid of the *Tui Kanokupolu*. In 1840 the American Wilkes tried to mediate, but without result (Wilkes III, p. 7 ff.; West, p. 58; Thomson 1894, p. 198, 353). The situation became even more confused when French missionaries arrived in the Tonga Islands (Geschichte der chr. M., p. 184; Koskinen, p .114 ff.; Neill, p. 419). A number of the "Heathens" now became Catholics, among them the *Tui Tonga* (Farmer, p. 367; West, p. 289). An attempt by the Catholic missionaries to win power over the Tonga Islands for him failed due to the action of the Protestant missionaries and George Tubou (Lawry 1851, p. 65; West, p. 55, 58, 291, 306). To balance the French pressure [648)
Josiah now called in the aid of the British. In 1844 Britain established its protectorate over the Tonga Islands and the French/Catholic danger was hereby nipped in the bud (Farmer, p. 364; Geschichte der
chr. M., p. 186).[A] A short time later Josiah Tubou appointed his 643
friend and nephew George his successor. With some difficulty the latter succeeded, after Josiah's death, in establishing his authority over all the Tonga Islands.

One of George's daughters married the *Tui Belehake*, a brother [644)
of the Tui Tonga, in 1837 (Thomson 1894, p. 351). The son born

[A] [The author seems to be in error here. The treaty making the Tonga Islands a British protectorate was negotiated by Thomson in 1900. See 15: Thomson, 89: Wood and more specifically 1: Gifford, p. 350 or 14: Thomson, pp. 355-356. --Analyst]